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JAMES G. BLAINE

A Sketch of his Life

WITH A BRIEF RECORD OF THE LIFE OF

JOHN A. LOGAN

BY

CHARLES WOLCOTT BAlestier

Author of "A Fair Device," "A Potent Philter," etc.

NEW YORK:
R. WORTHINGTON, 770 BROADWAY.
1884.

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House of Representatives,
Washington D.C.
April 4, 1872

Professor Alex. M. Gow

My Dear Friend & Classmate -

You ask for my story of
five and twenty years - "Story! God bless
yon" said Canning's knife grinder
"I have none to tell!"

In October 1847 - ten days after
our graduation I went to Kentucky
where for nearly three years I spent
the life of a ~~poor~~ tutor - returned
then to Pennsylvania where I remained
till '53, when I went to Maine
to engage in editorial labor - was
successively editor of the Kennebec
Journal and Portland Daily Advertiser.
Wish I could say necessarily
though on that score duas non
wholly dependent

I was a member of the Maine

Legislature in 1857 - 1860 - 1861 and ~~1862~~
1862 - the last two years I was
Speaker of the House

In the autumn of 1862 I was elected
to Congress & have been a member
~~of~~ of the House ever since
38th 39th 40th 41st and 42^d Congresses
- Speaker of the last two

Married a Maine lady - which
was the cause of my migration
Eastward - have had seven children -
four sons - three daughters - six living -
lost one infant son -

There is my "brief" social - personal
& political - I believe it fairly answers
your questions -

Hope to meet all the "boys" - (for
"boys" they will always be to me) in June
and renew the pleasures of College days

Faithfully & heartily yours

J. G. Blaine

P R E F A C E.

THERE are various excuses for a preface—an excuse for it seems always necessary; but perhaps that which regards it as an opportunity for thanking those who have assisted to give the writer something to preface is among the most reasonable. I, at least, am forced to think so, remembering how much I am indebted for this little volume to others, and how little I could say for the volume itself if, adopting one of the other ideas of a preface, I should try to justify and absolve the book to my readers. If I began at the head of my list of obligations I should thank the newspapers, and as my professions will scarcely reach their ears, let us say that I thank their editors—the editors of twenty years ago chiefly. The editors of yesterday and day before have also claims upon my gratitude, and I can only hope they will not feel that they have too many should they glance through this sketch. The author also feels a secret sense of obli-

gation to the compilers of the indices to the *Congressional Record*, the *New York Tribune*, and *Times*, and it is so unusual to thank an indexer that he is almost inclined to thank them. But there need be nothing dubious about his thanks to Professor Alexander Gow, of Fontanelle, Iowa, one of Mr. Blaine's classmates, who has given much information and has permitted the use of one of Mr. Blaine's letters ; to Mr. William C. Chapin, Principal of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind ; to the President of Washington and Jefferson College ; to Mr. John D. Adams and Mr. Richard E. Day, of Syracuse, N. Y. ; to Mr. George Buck, Mr. Whitelaw Reid ; Mr. Charles A. Little, of Hagerstown, Md. ; Mr. D. Nicholson, of New York, and Hon. William W. Phelps.

I do not know in what degree the subject of this sketch approves of it: the proofs, however, have passed through his hands. But it is certain that, as Mr. Howells has said in the preface to his admirable "*Life of Hayes*," "whatever is ambitious or artificial or unwise in my book is doubly my misfortune, for it is altogether false to him."

If I had not begun with certain declarations I should like, in conclusion, to try to palliate the pages before which this stands. I should like to say that the material for this volume was gathered, and the work essentially written, in the early morning hours

of a fortnight, and that I am sensible that it must bear marks of its extemporeaneous creation, and to add that this little essay, being the first attempt at a life of its subject, the writer's voyage has been the doubtful and perilous voyage of discovery. All this it would give me pleasure to say; but as I am committed to a view of the preface opposed to the expression of these things, I must instead ask my critics—the class which at last makes the only effectual excuses for the writers of books or prefaces—to make these excuses for me.

C. W. BAlestier.

THE ASTOR LIBRARY, NEW YORK,

21 June, 1884

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JAMES G. BLAINE,

A Sketch of his Life.

I.

BOYHOOD.

AN event which occurred in the scanty village of West Brownsville, Pennsylvania, on the thirty-first day of January, 1830, has multiplied its importance in fifty-four years. It will be said that it has been given time ; but it was an event of a sort whose contemporaneous importance—always very large—is at least as likely to dwindle as to grow. The concern in it has also widened, for at the time of its occurrence it touched but two nearly, and was notable only within the limits of a family ; and it has now an interest whose boundaries are those of a country. The event was the birth of a second son to Mr. and Mrs. Ephraim Lyon Blaine. It has not a large sound in this newspaper phrase, but

the son was James Gillespie Blaine, and that name has certainly come to have a meaning.

His ancestors had dwelt for many years in the fertile region where he was born ; they were among the hardy band of pioneers which settled the rich valley of the Cumberland, and their name and history are part of the local tradition of Western Pennsylvania. They founded the flourishing little town of Carlisle, and left as a memorial of their substantial lives a church building which still meets the observer's eye in that place. The family has honorable memories of the Revolution, for Colonel Ephraim Blaine, the grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was one of its heroes. He was an officer of the Pennsylvania line, and during the last four years of the war was Commissary-General of the Northern Department. He was a determined and energetic patriot, and one need use no imagination to see in him the source of some similar qualities of his grandson. He seems to have been brave and adequate to emergencies ; and at least the little American army gathered in its infirm remnants at Valley Forge had cause to credit him with the latter virtue. In the desperate straits to which the vacillation and incapacity of Congress, and the rigors of a cruel winter brought General Washington and his army he was the stout supporter of both. It was for him as one of the Commissaries-General to find a way to maintain the army, and as it was not to be found he made it—made it by liberal use of his own purse and appeals to his friends.

To the extent of his power he left nothing undone, and it is not altogether a fanciful conjuring up of terrors after the event to say, as it is said by excellent authority, that the Continental troops might very well have starved without his help.

Mr. Blaine's grandfather, from whom he is named, intended originally, we are told, to enter upon a professional and political career ; "but a somewhat prolonged residence in Europe after he had completed his studies diverted him, as it has so many young Americans, from following his first and better ambition. He returned to his home in 1793, bringing with him, as special bearer of dispatches, a celebrated treaty with a foreign government, since become historic."

In this country it is the custom to look intently to the man himself, with slight consideration of his ancestry ; and certainly if he is not his own justification he is not likely to be justified by the dead. But if anything in the brief American past is to be accounted creditable to the inheritors of its glories, it must be the efforts that brought us nearer independence. Such honor as that is due Colonel Blaine, and by right of descent, if you will, to his grandson. This stout old soldier, in softer times of peace, was one of the generous and hospitable race of Esquires which, so far north as Pennsylvania at least, has vanished as completely as if it had never been. It was a race which kept its lofty and virtuous traditions sweet, which honored women but was not less chivalrous toward men, which was informed in all rela-

tions by a knightly and splendid courtesy—which, in fine, spent very rich and admirable lives.

Ephraim Blaine, the father of James G. Blaine, came into Washington County about 1818, having the largest landed possessions of any man of his age in Western Pennsylvania, owning an estate which, had it been properly preserved, would have amounted to-day to many millions. In 1825 he deeded to the Economites the splendid tract of land on which their town with all its improvements and all its wealth now stands. The price was \$25,000 for a property whose value to-day, even if unimproved, would be a princely fortune. There were also timber tracts on the Allegheny, and coal tracts on the Monongahela, at that day of no special value, which now represent large fortunes in the hands of those fortunate enough to hold them. Very near the large tracts owned by his father and grandfather, Mr. Blaine is now the possessor of one of the most valuable coal properties in the Monongahela valley. In area it is but a fraction of that which he might have hoped to inherit; but in value it is much greater than that of the whole landed estate of his father fifty years ago.

In all this the biographer is conscious of a reversal of the severe and meagre story upon which those who have written of recent presidential candidates have liked to dwell, and it must be trusted that the prosperity which blessed the endeavors of the Blaine emigrants in the valley of the Cumberland will not prove an offence to any honest soul. They were prosperous:

and if that is a shameful fact, the truth must nevertheless be told. That they not only acquired wealth, but used it largely and toward the finer goods of life will perhaps not mitigate the wrong, if wrong it was. If they had known that a descendent of theirs was to become a candidate for an office to which one of the recommendations has sometimes been early poverty, they might have refrained their hands, and by using their honest labor in less profitable fields, or more probably by using less of it, might have kept themselves poor. To those who may have a vague grudge against them, and through them against Mr. Blaine, because they did not, it will be a satisfaction to know that at the time of his birth the family was far from richly bestead. Ephraim Blaine, his father, was a man of the best education, who had travelled rather widely in Europe and South America before settling in Pennsylvania to the performance of the respectable functions of Justice of the Peace—an office which since his day has parted with something of its dignity. Later he filled the more important position known in Pennsylvania as Prothonotary. He had inherited a large fortune for the times, but his unstinted hospitality, the support of an increasing family, and in a larger measure his handsome gifts to charity crippled him, and at the time of James' birth, though not suffering from poverty, he was at least equally removed from wealth. The conditions of the entrance upon the world of this second son will therefore be seen to have been reasonably presidential.

On the side of his father he was of Scotch-Irish extraction, and in the matter of religion, on the same side, a very solidly descended Presbyterian. His father had married a Roman Catholic, Maria Gillespie, but he was educated in the sect of his father, as were all the other children, of whom there were seven ; there were besides James four sons, and he had two sisters. One of the calmest and most judicious utterances of recent years upon the subject of religion—certainly the wisest, inspired by the intrusion of the subject upon politics—is that of Mr. Blaine's in a private letter written so long ago as 1876.

"My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons : First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen ; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them."

James G. Blaine was born in a plain but ample dwelling, on the single street of West Brownsville, a hamlet in Union Township, Washington County, Pa., not

far from the scene of the campaign which ended in Braddock's defeat by the Indians. In Brownsville proper the visitor is still shown the residence of his grandfather, Colonel Blaine, a wooden building to which a brick addition has been made in later years. The mother of General Sherman's wife happens to have been born at a little distance from Colonel Blaine's home. On the hills above West Brownsville the curious inquirer may also see the house in which Ephraim Blaine and Miss Gillespie were married, and, finally, the half-dozen houses which quarrel for precedence as the birth-place of this sketch's subject. Mr. Blaine has himself disposed of this interesting contest by fixing upon a certain dwelling among these as the scene of his earliest recollections. The building is of wood, two stories in height, and removed, in accordance with the inscrutable Pennsylvania custom, as little as possible from the road. A narrow grass space decorates the front, and in former years there was the liberal acreage behind, which the German pioneers have taught the people of Southern Pennsylvania must by no means be allowed in front. This, which may once have been a garden, ran to the river while Ephraim Blaine owned the house, and must have made an admirable play-ground for his numerous children. The house is a solidly built structure, and though its ceilings are low and its windows small, will remain a comfortable residence for many years. In the true spirit of biography it ought perhaps to be said that the visitor to this house is welcomed in a

hall of the spacious Southern sort, from which a large parlor opens. In this low-ceiled room an enormous chimney mantel has been blocked up ; but it is a dull fancy which cannot set Ephraim Blaine before it in the midst of his unfailing company of guests—the centre of scenes of stately gayety. From this house Mr. Blaine's father removed, in 1843, to take up his duties as Prothonotary, at Washington, the county seat.

Ephraim Blaine was careful to give all his children an excellent education, and when James had completed at home his early studies in the elementary principles, he was sent to the home of a relative at Lancaster, Ohio. This relative was Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Treasury. James Blaine was eleven when he went to Lancaster, and he began at once to prepare himself for college, studying with his cousin, Thomas Ewing, junior, now General Thomas Ewing, and once a member of Congress. The boys studied under especially advantageous conditions, for their tutor was William Lyons, brother of Lord Lyons, and uncle of the then British Minister at Washington. He seems to have been an early type of the visiting Englishman, and a highly fortunate type for these young students, for after two years of instruction from him, James Blaine, at the early age of thirteen, entered Washington College.

His father, with whom he lived at Washington during his college course, died soon after its completion, and his grave may be seen beside that of his wife in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Brownsville. The mon-

ument which tells their life-story with simple brevity stands in the shadow of the little stone church. The burial plot lies alone upon a hill, and looks down from its secure repose upon the Monongahela River.

II.

AT COLLEGE.

THE history of Washington and Jefferson College, which has accomplished its excellent work in a quiet way, and is little known, it will be interesting to briefly recount. It had its origin, as the colleges of New England had, in the general respect for religion and learning, and the need of institutions which might be not only conservers of these things and centres for instruction in them, but sources of supply to the ministry. Before they had made a home for themselves the people of Western Pennsylvania made a home for those things of the spirit which were dearest to them. It is a rare devotion which inspires the building of churches and schools in advance of full provision for more material needs. It belongs only to the sturdiest class of men—men who have done much for the world ; and is worth noting where we find it.

It was mainly with the purpose of providing a means for the nurture of a ministry at home that the Rev. John M'Millan, Rev. Joseph Smith, and Rev. Thomas Dod es-

tablished schools of their own at Chartiers, Buffalo, and Ten Mile, in Washington County, about 1780. The most successful of these Latin schools, as they were called, was that under the charge of the Rev. John M'Millan, and when an academy was established at Canonsburgh, in 1791, his prosperous school was merged in it. One of the principals of this academy, James Carnahan, was afterward President of Princeton, and one of his successors became the first president of the college which grew out of it, and which in 1802 was chartered by the State and named Jefferson. It is not a thing of which Jefferson boasts, but it was the first institution of the higher learning west of the Alleghanies.

In the same county another college had grown up by the side of Jefferson, called Washington. It was also sprung from an academy, and in that form was only five years younger than the town of Washington in which it stood, having been chartered in 1787. The names of the three ministers who in a remote way founded Jefferson stand first on the list of the incorporators of Washington Academy. In 1805 Rev. Matthew Brown became at the same time the first pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Washington, and Principal of the Academy, and under him it met such success that in 1806 the State Legislature gave the trustees a college charter. It had scarcely been established when a union was proposed with its young neighbor Jefferson, but this wise move was not fully accomplished until 1869.

By the act which united the two colleges the alumni of both are accounted as alumni of the new College of Washington and Jefferson, and Mr. Blaine's college may therefore be said to be Washington and Jefferson, though in fact it was Washington.

This was probably, when James Blaine entered it in 1843, as good a small college as he would have found by going farther from home; and it had the advantage of all the lesser colleges: the close relation of pupil and teacher. The class with which young Blaine entered was of about the usual number—thirty-three, and the brief list of it may be interesting. The present occupations of its members—*l* denoting lawyer, *m* minister, *p* physician—are indicated after each name, and those who have died are distinguished by the sinister star.

GEORGE BAIRD, Jr., *p.*, Wheeling, W. Va.

*ANDREW BARR, *m.*, Wysox, Pa., 1864

JAMES G. BLAINE, LL.D., *l.*, Editor, Speaker Legislature of Maine,
Speaker U. S. H. R., Senator and Secretary of State, Augusta, Me.

ROBERT C. COLMERY, *m.*, Delavan, Ill.

JOSIAH C. COOPER, *p.*, Philadelphia, Pa.

*THOMAS CREIGHTON.

GEORGE D. CURTIS, Moundsville, W. Va.

*CEPHAS DODD, *p.*, Washington, Pa.

HUGH W. FORBES, *m.*, Montezuma, Iowa.

ALEX. M. GOW, Pres. Dixon College, Ill., Fontanelle, Iowa.

JOHN H. HAMPTON, *l.*, Pittsburgh, Pa.

*JOHN C. HERVEY, Wheeling, W. Va.

R. CAMPBELL HOLLIDAY, *l.*, Moundsville, W. Va.

JOHN G. JACOB, Editor, Wellsburgh, W. Va.

RICHARD H. LEE, Jr., *l.*, Lewiston, Pa.

HON. JOHN V. B. LEMOYNE, *l.*, Chicago, Ill., M. C.

LA FAYETTE MARKLE, *l.*, Editor, Philadelphia, Pa.

- GASPER M. MILLER, *p.*, Ottawa, Ill.
*JAMES R. MOORE, Prin. Academy, Morgantown, W. Va., 1864.
*WILLIAM S. MOORE, *l.*, Editor, Washington, Pa.
M. P. MORRISON, *p.*, Monongahela City, Pa.
ROBERT J. MUNCE, *p.*, Washington, Pa.
EDWARD B. NEELY, *l.*, St. Joseph, Mo.
WILLIAM M. ORR, *l.*, Orrville, O.
*THOMAS W. PORTER, *l.*, Waynesburg, Pa.
SAMUEL POWER, Nevada.
HON. WM. H. H. M. PUSEY, *l.*, Senator, Iowa; M. C., Council Bluffs,
Iowa.
*HUSTON QUAIL, *l.*, Washington, Pa.
JOHN A. RANKIN, Xenia, Ill.
ROBERT ROBB, *m.*, Brownsville, Oregon.
*JAMES H. SMITH, Allegheny County, Pa.
JOHN H. STORER, *p.*, Triadelphia, W. Va.
ALEX. WILSON, *l.*, Washington, Pa.

One of his classmates, Alexander M. Gow, of Fontanelle, Iowa, writes Mr. Blaine's biographer that while at College he was "a boy of pleasing manners and agreeable address, quite popular among the students and in society. He was a better scholar than student. Having very quick perceptions and a remarkable memory he was able to catch and retain easily what came to others by hard work. In the literary society he was a politician, and it was there, I think, that he received a good deal of the training that made him what he is." The mother of his college room-mate remembers very well when her son brought him home to spend a vacation. She speaks of him as a "raw, angular fellow, with a big nose," and says that when she met him a year or two ago she was "astounded to find that he remembered every incident of those boyish days, and could tell

her many things which she had forgotten. He remembered all the family, their relatives and the neighbors, and could talk of his visit as though it had been but yesterday."

H. H. M. Pusey, of Iowa, another of his classmates, and a member of Congress from Iowa, says :

"James Blaine, as I remember him, was a pretty well-built boy and a hard student. He had an impediment of his speech, however, which prevented him from joining in our debates and declamations, but he could distance all his classmates in the matter of studies, and his memory was remarkable. We had in the college a literary society, of which I was president about the time Blaine was sixteen years old. One day he came to me and said : 'B-b ill, I would like to be p-president of the literary. Can you f-f-fix it for me ?' I answered : 'Why, what do you know about the literary society ? You have never taken any part in the debates and have always preferred to pay your fine to taking active part. Do you know anything about parliamentary practice ?' He replied : 'No, but I can c-c-commit Cushing's Manual to memory in one night.' Well, the result was that at the next meeting I 'fixed it' for him, and at the meeting next week Blaine was elected president, vice Pusey, term expired. As he had promised, he committed the entire contents of Cushing's Manual, and he proved the best president the literary society of the college ever had.

"I remember one day his father told him to get up early and go to the market to buy a turkey. He gave him a dollar, which was a good deal of money in those days. Well, James brought home the bird and handed

it to old Dinah, the colored cook of the Blaine family. When the elder Blaine came down to breakfast Dinah greeted him : ‘ Mars Blaine, dat dar turkey what Mars Jim buyed dis mawnin’ am de quarest turkey I’s ever seed. Deed it is, Mars Blaine.’

“ ‘ Why, what’s the matter with it, Dinah ? ain’t it big enough ? ’ replied the old gentleman. ‘ It ought to be, surely ; Jim paid a dollar for it.’

“ ‘ Oh yes, Mars Blaine, de turkey is big ‘nuff, but it am de funniest turkey dis yer nigger ever seed.’

“ ‘ Mars Blaine ’ went out to the kitchen to look at the ‘turkey’ and found it to be a ten-year-old goose.

“ He called Jim down and hauled him over the coals, saying : ‘ Why, Jim, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. Fifteen years old and can’t tell a turkey from a goose ! ’

“ Jim hung his head and simply replied : ‘ Why, how’s a boy to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off.’ ”

Another who seems to have known him says :

“ To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero—uniformly kind to them, ready to give assistance and advice, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. His handsome person and neat attire ; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance ; his frank, generous nature, and his brave manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority with those of his own age on all questions.”

Young Blaine’s chief diversion while in college seems to have been the hunting of the bushy-tailed fox, which

abounded in the region. In his sportsman's excursions he often accompanied a negro named Randolph Tearle, who was accounted the most skilful huntsman in the valley. Washington County is in the midst of gently undulating hills, covered with generous forests, and was a fruitful field for this kind of sport when James Blaine roamed over it as a boy. The county is now, as it had begun to be then, a rich agricultural region. More wool is taken from the sheep that pasture on its hills than from those of any other county in the United States, and it has fairly productive beds of coal. On its streams the college lad beguiled his idle hours boating or fishing. The Monongahela River is the eastern boundary of Washington County, and there are numerous creeks within its limits. One of his acquaintances in the town of Washington says : "There is not a stump or rock on these hills that Blaine doesn't know. He knows the country about here better than most of the people who have never lived anywhere else. He must have scoured these hills while he was a boy."

He is very well remembered by every one about his old home, of course—that is the privilege of all men who go away from any home to become famous. But not all men in whose careers their ancient neighbors find cause for honest pride, are held in such kindly remembrance. In Brownsville and Washington the visitor's ear is assailed with reminiscences of his early years. These are not all memorable or even very entertaining, but they are invariably delivered with a heartiness

which gives them a value as expressions of the popular liking for Mr. Blaine among those who have known him intimately. Perhaps he is liked not only because these people remember him pleasantly, but because he remembers them pleasantly, for when he has returned to his old home his capacious memory has accompanied him, and his success has not taught him to deny the humblest of his old associates.

The class list will have shown his standing upon graduation,—certainly not discreditable to one who is remembered as a good but not sedulous student by his companions. It is said that he excelled in mathematics and the languages. It was a fit close to his college career, as well as a prophetic beginning of his life-work, that his commencement oration should have been upon “The Duty of an Educated American.”

III.

EXPERIMENTS.

"A FEW months after graduation, in October," says Mr. Blaine, in a letter already presented to the reader, "I went to Kentucky." That is a simple record, and conveys no intimation of the causes which impelled the step ; and it does not become his biographer to be more wise. He sought his fortune in what was then known as the West ; and the journey, though a briefer one in miles than that to the region now known under that name, may very well have occupied as much time, for he went by boat. His fortune was not found at the Western Military Institute, a school for boys established at Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky. But as a professor he won the general liking which had fallen naturally to him as a student, and was rather uncommonly successful, it would seem, in a calling which could not have been congenial. He was upon excellent terms with all the boys, kept ready command of their Christian names, as well as of the characters for which those names stood, and was able in this way to exert a

positive influence, though occupying a subordinate position. When a contest arose between the owners of the Springs and the faculty touching the removal of the school he exhibited his personal courage. The difficulty finally occasioned a mêlée in which the knife and revolver played the usual part. The young professor from Pennsylvania only used his fist, but used it skilfully, fighting with the greatest coolness and courage.

But the most important fruit of his Kentucky residence was not the proof it offered of his personal courage, his ability to do a thing not after his calling well, or his security in the approval of his fellows in a wider world than that of the college. It was at Blue Lick Springs that he met the admirable woman who became his wife. Miss Harriet Stanwood, a native of Maine, had been sent to be educated at a seminary for young ladies at Millersburg, Kentucky. This school was presided over by the wife of the principal of the Western Military Institute, and was twenty miles from Blue Lick Springs. The intercourse between the two schools was of course constant, and it was natural that the professors of the military academy should meet the young girls of the seminary. No account remains of the wooing, but in little more than a year after his arrival in Kentucky he married Miss Stanwood, and soon after returned with her to Pennsylvania, where he for a time studied law. Though prepared he did not present himself for admission to the Bar, but the grounding in legal principles then gained has been of essential ser-

vice in all his later work. He was perhaps in need of some more immediately remunerative occupation than the study of the law, for in 1854, being then the father of a boy of two, he answered the advertisement of Mr. William Chapin, Principal of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, for a teacher. This excellent home and school for the blind still stands at the corner of Twentieth and Race Streets in Philadelphia, and Mr. Chapin is still its admirable principal. He has furnished the writer of these lines with "the little he so pleasantly remembers" about the young man who offered himself for the vacant position thirty years ago :

"We needed," he writes, "a principal instructor in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, in the year 1852. A large number answered my advertisement; and one, whose fine manly presence and intellectual features struck me so favorably that no difficulty existed in making a selection. The appointment was at once made. His estimable wife and little son, Stanley, a beautiful boy of about two years, was welcomed with the husband and father, though not within the rules of the institution in such cases, and the only exception ever made. But we could not afford to reject a case whose promise was as one in a thousand.

"We were not disappointed. He had charge of the higher classes in literature and science. The blind are taught orally in great part. Their mental work is

remarkable. The most abstruse and difficult mathematical problems are mastered by them. And Mr. Blaine's brilliant mental powers were exactly qualified to enlighten and instruct the interesting minds before him, and solve all their difficulties.

"He was a good speaker and talker. He had a remarkable fluency of words, and his language was good. He was an excellent scholar. His memory of facts and persons of the long past was wonderful. He was especially fond of debate, and his ready memory gave him great advantages. We had many argumentative contests together during the two years he remained with us. He was positive, self-possessed, and determined, if possible, to gain his point.

"Mr. Blaine, it will be remembered, was at that period (1852 to 1854) a young man. His experiences since then have all been in the direction of improvement and great enlargement of opportunity in public life. If he was a young intellectual giant then, we may presume those powers are now somewhat colossal.

"He left our institution in 1854, to take charge of a public journal in Maine. I marked his rapid course. He was elected soon to the State Legislature. I noticed, but without surprise, his statistical reports on State and other subjects. He was great on figures, dates, and facts, as had been already noticed when with us, in the compilation, in manuscript, of a quarto volume of 284 pages, giving all the business, history, and facts connected with the progress of the institution until the day

he left. This large voluntary work, in his own quiet hours after the duties of the day, was a surprise and gratification to the managers, who made a suitable recognition of this interesting gift. The volume is preserved in the institution as a testimonial of its author, and is the more valued for the great and popular favor he now enjoys throughout the country."

"He was a man," Mr. Chapin has elsewhere said, "of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion in this very room, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget."

The title-page of the book which he compiled reads :

JOURNAL
of the
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
for the
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
from its foundation.

Compiled from official records

by

JAMES G. BLAINE.

1854.

The book is made with perfect method, the abbreviations used being explained on the first page. On the fly-leaf is the following :

"On this and the four following pages will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher." "From this page, the 188th," says a Philadelphia journal, "in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below it is a brief statement of what the text contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry. Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables, compiled by the same patient and untiring hand. One of the lists is that of the 'principal teachers.' No. 13 is followed by the signature 'James G. Blaine, from August 5, 1852, to' —and then, in another hand, the record is completed with the date November 23, 1854."

"I think that the book," says Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference, and Mr. Frank Battles, the assistant principal, is bringing the record down to the present time.

"Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in which he excelled, and the higher branches. His wife was univer-

saily beloved, and often read aloud to the pupils. When he went away to become editor of the *Kennebect Journal* we felt that we had lost a man of large parts, and we have watched his upward career with great interest. He has called here a number of times when he stopped in the city on his way to and from Washington. The last time he was here he heard with great interest of the progress of D. D. Wood, the blind organist of St. Stephen's church, who was one of his pupils, and recalled Mr. Wood's proficiency in mathematics."

"Three persons now holding positions in the institution, Michael M. Williams, William McMillan, and Miss Maria Cormany, were pupils under Mr. Blaine. Mr. Williams says : 'Everybody loved Mr. Blaine and his wife. Both were always ready to do anything for our amusement in leisure hours, and we had a great deal of fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dickens' works aloud to us ; and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a work entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' In the evening he used to read aloud to both the boys and girls. Then we would wind up with a spelling-bee. Sometimes Mr. Blaine would give out the words and sometimes one of the big boys would do it, while Mr. Blaine stood up among the boys. Then we would have great fun trying to 'spell the teacher down.' "

When this institution, in which Mr. Blaine for the second time discharged the functions of teacher, was first established, there was but one other similar estab-

lishment in the country, that of Boston, which had begun its work only the year previous. "It was, therefore," we are told, "an untried enterprise that its founders undertook, and its success is wholly due to their wisdom, energy, and devotion to the interests of the blind. Starting in a rented house, with an assessed income of only \$1,000 a year, it now possesses a fine building, and has, in addition to receiving a subsidy from the State, through the liberality of its friends, an income of its own. The fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the institution was publicly celebrated by appropriate exercises at Association Hall, on March 5, 1884."

IV.

EDITOR AND STATE POLITICAL LEADER.

IN his work here it is evident that Mr. Blaine was successful, but his wife was anxious that their home should be made in her native State, and, guided perhaps by his own ambition for a larger field as well as by a spirit of complaisance to his wife's wishes, he resigned his position in the school and removed to Augusta, where his home has since been. He found himself, perhaps, without certain of the theories of life and affairs which prevail in Maine, but he either readily assimilated them or found that his own sound and honest theories sufficed; for, from the editorial chair of the *Kennebec Journal*, purchased with Joseph Baker, a prominent lawyer of that place, he presently exercised an important influence in his adopted State. The *Journal* was a weekly and an organ of the Whig party, and under Mr. Blaine's management did vigorous service for that expiring cause. In 1857, just after the first convention of the Republican party, he disposed of his interest in the *Journal* and assumed editorial charge of

a daily newspaper in Portland, called the *Advertiser*. During the campaign of 1860 he for a time again edited the *Kennebec Journal*, its regular editor being ill ; but with his election to the State Legislature, in 1858, he gave up the active pursuit of journalism. His connection with the press may, however, be reckoned as extending from 1854 to 1860, a period of six years.

The loosening of party lines at this time offered a fruitful opportunity to young men. The old Whig party was breaking up, inadequate to the solution of the tremendous problems which had risen. When a party came into sudden being, eagerly ready to solve the largest problems, and, though so swift a growth, entirely capable of solving them, the moribund Whig organization died instantly, and the young Republican party took up its abandoned endeavors with fresh energy and a determination before which everything went down. It came into existence with an alertness at which dazed conservatives blinked, and it organized, and uttered its simple convictions with a positiveness which made both its friends and opponents start a little. Its convictions involved large consequences, for they expressed themselves in a moral purpose, and when that dangerous thing has got abroad we know that small parties and small men must take care of themselves. It was a party built upon an idea—a prodigious idea. It looked to the future ; it broke with the past, and it was therefore pre-eminently the party of young men. One young man, at his editorial desk in a town of Maine, felt that

with the accustomed quickness of his sensibility. He saw that the time of the Whig organization had come ; he recognized the fresh impulse, he perceived its value, and he was among the first in his State to throw himself into the new cause. It was a time when young men readily secured a hearing. They were indeed the architects of the party which had just sprung into being. This movement, coming at the outset of Mr. Blaine's political career, gave him an opportunity for which he might otherwise have waited long. His writings on the subject which now engrossed all men's thoughts were too vigorous and earnest to escape attention, and he found himself a leader almost before he could have expected to be thoroughly recognized as a subaltern. His early success is the explanation of his attainment, at little more than fifty, to the highest honor of his party. The reasons of that early success are obvious, and it is impossible to refuse one's admiration to the courageous conviction and the prompt action which gave it force. It is an old message now—that which came to the large-fibred men of 1856—it has grown dull in our ears. But its genuineness was not so clear then. Enemies strove to hinder its voice, and it was scoffed at. The men who heard that whispered message through the contumely of adversaries and the doubtful murmurs of half-hearted friends, who heeded it and thundered it at last through the iron throat of war, are men who must always be gratefully remembered by loyal hearts.

The sentiments which Mr. Blaine made so freely

known through the columns of a newspaper he was ready to champion in person ; and he was sent as a delegate from Maine to the first convention of the Republican party. He was made one of the secretaries of that body, and when General Fremont was nominated returned home to find himself, at a ratification meeting, called upon for his maiden speech. A writer says :

“ At that time he had exhibited all the qualifications of an orator, but had never ventured upon the public platform. He seemed to have a strong fear of addressing a public audience, and it was only after much persuasion that he consented, on this occasion, to speak. When he arose to his feet he was in such a state of perturbation and embarrassment that it was some time before he was able to command himself so as to begin to talk. From the moment he got possession of his voice he continued, and made one of the finest speeches he ever made in his life.”

The late Governor Kent, of Maine, speaking of Mr. Blaine’s career in that State, has said : “ Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the *Kennebec Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the

Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position he has held ever since, and from which he has practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State, always leading his party to brilliant victory."

V.

IN CONGRESS.

AN even, certain ascent has distinguished Mr. Blaine's political advancement. It has gone forward by promotions as regular as if they had been won in the army or navy. The time had come for a new step which was to widen his field from the State to the Nation.

In the convention which first nominated him for Congress he stated his convictions as to the policy that should be pursued in suppressing the rebellion. He said: "The great object with us all is to subdue the rebellion—speedily, effectually, and finally. In our march to that end we must crush all intervening obstacles. If slavery or any other 'institution' stands in the way it must be removed. Perish all things else, the national life must be saved." He added that he was determined to stand heartily by the Administration of Abraham Lincoln. He declared that he should be the unswerving adherent of the policy and measures which the President in his wisdom might adopt. Mr. Blaine's

patriotic utterances met with a hearty response, and he was elected over his Democratic competitor by the largest majority ever given in his district, it exceeding 3,000.

During his first term there sat with him on the floor of the House, Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, John A. Kasson, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, F. P. Blair, Jr., James Brooks, Erastus Corning, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, George H. Pendleton, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Thaddeus Stevens, G. W. Schofield, and many other men who have since become prominent. From this time, it has properly been said, his career is part of the national history. He took at once an active part in debate, and presently became known as a shrewd and ready speaker. His long speeches were not numerous, but in the swift skirmishes which are constantly in progress in the House of Representatives he was excellent, even at this early stage of his congressional career, beyond any other member. The nimble movement of his mind furnished him with a tremendous power, and the ceaseless shower of small shot with which he vexed his adversaries proved, in the result, at least as effective as if he had trained the solitary canon of heavier speakers upon them. His briefest replies and comments, even as one reads them, remote from the stirring scenes which induced them, and turned cold upon the dreary pages of the *Congressional*

Record, have a tenacious quality of life and spirit. The zest of this hurtling fire has the rarest power which we know—the power to recreate the time and the occasion, and to put a pulse in words long stiffened into type. It is the force of a munificent personality.

This dexterity, this quick and daring form of attack, may seem to one who merely reads of it, and has not been privileged by sight of it in action, a clever but superficial parliamentary method. But only to read the report of one of these animated passages at arms, which anyone may still do, is to become aware of the solidity of their foundation. They sprang from the surest knowledge of their subject, and were so ready because the chief actor in them was filled with understanding of the issue. Mr. Blaine's comprehension was alert even in his college days, but if his mind went forward by leaps it always alighted on perfectly firm ground. His wide and abundant interest in every public topic contributed directly to the strength in rapid debate long attributed to him. He not only always understood but was always interested, and his zeal often turned what appeared to the casual eye a common sort of road dust—familiar to the House of Representatives—into a very fair quality of gold. His speeches are illustrated by the ample acquaintance with history and literature which he gained as a young man, and his comparisons are usually strikingly felicitous. His style, however, is simple and direct, and leaves the flowers of rhetoric uncut. It assails its subject with straightforward vigor and takes

hold of the substance of it. His earnest manner carries a conviction of its own with it, and those who like it are willing to grant in advance the unfailing cogency of argument upon which it rests.

During his six years on the floor of the House Mr. Blaine was a favorite among frequenters of the galleries, not alone for that common and not necessarily lofty ability to enliven the drowsy hours, but for his devoted championship of every just and wise measure. It was a prophecy of the wider popularity which began to reward his tireless zeal in the public service.

In writing of his power as a speaker, his unusual success in what is euphoniously termed "stump speaking" should be recognized. The qualities which gave him the leadership of the House, lent his political addresses to the people a force entirely new, and peculiarly well adapted to its object. His speeches for candidates have won them votes. No one who hears him can doubt that ; but it has been repeatedly shown. In his own State, where it is easy to number political pulse-beats, and to learn their origin with some accuracy, his championship has more than once saved an election, and in the broader field of national politics, though his influence is not so easily measured, it has counted for a tremendous force. One wonders if the speeches of a canvass in common really do gain votes; we have at least all heard addresses which must have lost votes. The quality in Mr. Blaine's manner of talking to a political meeting—for like other successful speakers of

this kind he uses no formal oratory—which leaves in every mind a confidence of its effect, is not a thing to be reached by casual analysis. It may be doubted if any process would make it known at last. The current explanation, we believe, is “personal magnetism,” but that is very weak. We at once ask, what is “personal magnetism?” and as no one knows what it is, though every one has felt it, the answer waits. It is at least a remarkable power; it engrosses and fascinates his audiences. His zeal, his energy, his overmastering belief in the truth and righteousness of his cause, are things which reach the dullest minds and sway them. His arguments, stoutly but plainly put, have a very especial and unusual cogency, and their march is in a solid front. It is, however, in a less palpable quality than any of these that his highest power resides—a quality which in trying to express we begin to compare and to find symbols for. There is no adequate word, and our borrowings from the language of the most mysterious of natural forces are themselves only attempts at the expression of the inexpressible.

An attempt to pursue his course step by step during the long term of his service in Congress would be wearisome. He spoke upon every important measure, and briefly discussed many petty laws about which none but sedulous readers of the *Congressional Record* will ever be perfectly informed. They had their bearing at the time, as evreything has; and it may as well be admitted, as a reply in advance to those malevolent

students of the proceedings of Congress who assist at all presidential campaigns, that Mr. Blaine occasionally fancied they had a bearing which later it was plain they had not, and that he made mistakes enough in his votes to relieve his biographer of the duty of proving his perfection.

The list of committees on which he has served during his long term of service exhibits almost as well as any other record the kind of work he has done during his long term of congressional service. They are the better worth giving in full, as they represent the kind of work for which, except among Congressmen, the laborious committee-men have little credit. It is usually dull routine labor, and can be made as abundant as one will. It has always been very abundant with Mr. Blaine; by means of it he has doubtless saved the public treasury and the statute-book from more than either his friends or opponents know, and as it has been done in silence it will perhaps bear a little trumpeting.

FIRST SESSION, THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Military Affairs.

ROBERT C. SHENCK, of O.	SYDENHAM E. ANCONA, of Penn.
H. C. DENNING, of Conn.	JOHN H. KETCHAM, of N. Y.
GILMAN MARTIN, of N. H.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
LOVELL H. ROUSSEAU, of Ky.	CHAS. SITGREAVES, of N. J.
JOHN A. BINGHAM, of O.	

Select Committee of One from each State represented on the Death of President Lincoln.

E. B. WASHBURN, of Ill. <i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	R. C. SCHENCK, of O. G. S. SHANKLIN, of Ky.
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J. W. PATTERSON, of N. H.	G. S. ORTH, of Ind.
J. S. MORRILL, of Vt.	J. W. MCCLURG, of Mo.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	T. C. BEAMAN, of Mich.
G. A. JENCKES, of R. I.	J. A. KASSON, of Iowa.
D. C. DENNING, of Conn.	J. C. SLOAN, of Wis.
J. H. GRISWOLD, of N. Y.	W. HIGBY, of Cal.
E. R. V. WRIGHT, of N. J.	W. WINDOM, of Minn.
T. STEVENS, of Penn.	S. CLARKE, of Kans.
J. A. NICHOLSON, of Del.	K. V. WHALEY, of W. Va.
F. THOMAS, of Md.	

SECOND SESSION, THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Military Affairs.

R. C. SCHENCK, of O.	S. E. ANCONA, of Penn.
H. C. DENNING, of Conn.	J. H. KETCHAM, of N. Y.
G. MARSTON, of N. H.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
L. H. ROUSSEAU, of Ky.	CHAS. SITGREAVES, of N. J.
J. A. BINGHAM, of O.	

Committee on War Debts of Loyal States.

<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	J. A. PLANTS, of O.
T. HOOPER, of Miss.	W. A. NEWELL, of N. J.
B. F. LOAN, of Mo.	T. W. FERRY, of Mich.
B. M. BOYER, of Penn.	J. R. HAWKINS, of Tenn.
W. A. DARLING, of N. Y.	

FIRST SESSION, FORTIETH CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker, James G. Blaine.</i>	N. P. BANKS, of Mass.
ELIHU B. WASHBURN, of Ill.	J. BROOKS, of N. Y.

SECOND SESSION, FORTIETH CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker, James G. Blaine.</i>	N. P. BANKS, of Mass.
ELIHU B. WASHBURN, of Ill.	J. BROOKS, of N. Y.

THIRD SESSION, FORTIETH CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker, James G. Blaine.</i>	N. P. BANKS, of Mass.
ELIHU B. WASHBURN, of Ill.	J. BROOKS, of N. Y.

FIRST SESSION, FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	JAMES BROOKS, of N. Y.
T. W. FERRY, of Mich.	

SECOND SESSION, FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	JAMES BROOKS, of N. Y.
T. W. FERRY, of Mich.	

FIRST SESSION, FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

SECOND SESSION, FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

THIRD SESSION, FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

FIRST SESSION, FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
HORACE MAYNARD, of Tenn.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

SECOND SESSION, FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker,</i> James G. Blaine.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
HORACE MAYNARD, of Tenn.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

THIRD SESSION, FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker, James G. Blaine.</i>	S. S. COX, of N. Y.
HORACE MAYNARD, of Tenn.	S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.	

FIRST SESSION, FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Ways and Means.

N. R. MORRISON, of Ill.	J. T. TUCKER, of Va.
FERNANDO WOOD, of N. Y.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
J. HANCOCK, of Tex.	W. D. KELLEY, of Penn.
P. F. THOMAS, of Md.	JAMES A. GARFIELD, of O.
B. H. HILL, of Ga.	H. C. BURCHARD, of Ill.
C. W. CHAPIN, of Miss.	

Committee on the Rules.

<i>The Speaker, James G. Blaine.</i>	N. P. BANKS, of Mass.
S. J. RANDALL, of Penn.	S. S. COX, of N. Y.

Select Committee of the House, on the Centennial Celebration and the proposed National Census of 1875.

JAMES H. HOPKINS, of Penn.	A. A. HARDENBERGH, of N. J.
J. HANCOCK, of Texas.	W. D. KELLEY, of Penn.
W. H. BARNUM, of Conn.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
N. P. BANKS, of Mass.	W. LAWRENCE, of O.
C. H. HARRISON, of Ill.	W. H. BAKER, of N. Y.
W. J. O'BRIEN, of Md.	J. R. RAINES, of S. C.
A. S. WILLIAMS, of Mich.	

SECOND SESSION, FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Senate Committee on Appropriations.

W. WINDOM, of Minn.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
J. R. WEST, of La.	D. G. DAVIS, of W. Va.
A. A. SARGENT, of Cal.	R. E. WITHERS, of Va.
W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.	W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.
S. W. DORSEY, of Ark.	

Senate Committee on Naval Affairs.

A. H. CRAGIN, of N. H.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
H. B. ANTHONY, of R. I.	T. M. NORWOOD, of Ga.
A. A. SARGENT, of Cal.	W. P. WHYTE, of Md.
S. B. CONOVER, of Fla.	

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Appropriations.

W. WINDOM, of Minn.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
J. R. WEST, of La.	H. G. DAVIS, of W. Va.
A. A. SARGENT, of Cal.	R. E. WITHERS, of Va.
W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.	W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.
S. W. DORSEY, of Ark.	J. B. BECK, of Ky.

Committee on Naval Affairs.

A. A. SARGENT, of Cal.	W. P. WHYTE, of Md.
H. B. ANTHONY, of R. I.	J. R. MCPHERSON, of N. J.
S. B. CONOVER, of Fla.	C. W. JONES, of Fla.
<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	

Committee on Rules.

<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	A. S. MERRIMON, of N. C.
T. W. FERRY, of Mich.	

Select Committee of the Senate.

B. K. BRUCE, of Miss.	I. G. HARRIS, of Tenn.
<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	A. CAMERON, of Wis.
W. P. KELLOGG, of La.	T. B. EUSTIS, of La.
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	

FIRST SESSION, FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Appropriations.

H. G. DAVIS, of W. Va.	W. WINDOM, of Minn.
R. C. WITHERS, of Va.	W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.
J. B. BECK, of Ky.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.	N. BOOTH, of Cal.
W. W. EATON, of Conn.	

Committee on Naval Affairs.

J. R. MCPHERSON, of N. J.	H. B. ANTHONY, of R. I.
W. P. WHYTE, of Md.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
C. W. JONES, of Fla.	J. D. CAMERON, of Penn.
Z. B. VANCE, of N. C.	Z. CHANDLER, of Mich.
J. T. FARLEY, Cal.	

Committee on Rules.

J. T. MORGAN, of Ala.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	

Select Committee on the Mississippi River.

L. Q. LAMAR, of Miss.	B. F. JONAS, of La.
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
I. G. HARRIS, of Tenn.	W. P. KELLOGG, of La.

SECOND SESSION, FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Appropriations.

H. G. DAVIS, of W. Va.	W. WINDOM, of Minn.
R. C. WITHERS, of Va.	W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.
J. B. BECK, of Ky.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.	N. BOOTH, of Cal.
W. W. EATON, of Conn.	

Committee on Naval Affairs.

J. R. MCPHERSON, of N. J.	H. B. ANTHONY, of R. I.
W. P. WHYTE, of Md.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
C. W. JONES, of Fla.	J. D. CAMERON, of Penn.
Z. B. VANCE, of N. C.	Z. CHANDLER, of Mich.
J. T. FARLEY, of Cal.	

Committee on Rules.

J. T. MORGAN, of Ala.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	

Select Committee on the Mississippi River.

L. Q. LAMAR, of Miss.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	W. P. KELLOGG, of La.
J. G. HARRIS, of Tenn.	B. K. BRUCE, of Miss.
B. F. JONAS, of La.	

THIRD SESSION, FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

Committee on Appropriations.

H. G. DAVIS, of W. Va.	W. WINDOM, of Minn.
R. C. WITHERS, of Va.	W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.
J. B. BECK, of Ky.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.	N. BOOTH, of Cal.
W. W. EATON, of Conn.	

Committee on Naval Affairs.

J. R. MCPHERSON, of N. J.	H. B. ANTHONY, of R. I.
W. P. WHYTE, of Md.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
C. W. JONES, of Fla.	J. D. CAMERON, of Penn.
Z. B. VANCE, of N. C.	T. W. FERRY, of Mich.
S. T. FARLEY, of Cal.	

Committee on Rules.

J. T. MORGAN, of Ala.	W. A. WALLACE, of Penn.
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	G. F. EDMUNDS, of Vt.
<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>	

Committee on the Mississippi River.

L. Q. LAMAR, of Miss.	B. F. JONAS, of La.
F. M. COCKRELL, of Mo.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
I. G. HARRIS, of Tenn.	W. P. KELLOGG, of La.

Select Committee on the Bill (S. 227) to provide that the principal Officer of each of the Executive Departments may occupy a Seat on the Floor of the Senate and the House.

G. H. PENDLETON, of O.	R. CONKLING, of N. Y.
D. W. VOORHEES, of Ind.	W. B. ALLISON, of Iowa.
T. F. BAYARD, of Del.	<i>James G. Blaine, of Me.</i>
M. C. BUTLER, of S. C.	J. J. INGALLS, of Kan.
J. T. FARLEY, of Cal.	O. H. PLATT, of Conn.

It has been thought convenient to set forth elsewhere, under separate heads, Mr. Blaine's position on the larger issues which have engaged the attention of Congress during the past twenty years, and in these the major part of his congressional history will be found. Some connected record of his more important acts during his stay in the House may, however, be made with advantage.

It will be seen that in the Thirty-ninth Congress he was Chairman of the Committee on the War Debts of the Loyal States. The subject engaged his best energies, and his first distinction as a speaker was won in a speech upon it, in which he contended that it was the duty of the General Government to assume these debts, and maintained the ability of the North to carry on the war, then in progress. The speech attracted

wide attention and in the Presidential election of 1864 was used as a campaign document. When the war was done he returned to the matter and reported a bill for the payment to the States of fifty-five dollars for each soldier sent by them into the field.

In 1864, he offered a resolution to the following effect :

“Resolved, That the Judiciary Committee be directed to inquire into the expediency of proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, by striking out the fifth clause of section nine, article one, which forbids the levying of a tax on articles exported from any State.”

He was one of the most active members of the House in framing the important Reconstruction acts which for several years following the war engrossed almost the entire attention of Congress.

On January 22, 1866, Mr. Fessenden, of the Senate, and Mr. Stevens, of the House of Representatives, brought before those bodies a partial report from committee, recommending the passage of the following joint resolution :

“That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely :

“ARTICLE.— Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union according to their respective

numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed: *Provided*, That whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation.' "

Mr. Blaine addressed the House, detailing some objections to the measure. He said : "While I shall vote for the proposition, I shall do so with some reluctance unless it is amended, and I do not regret, therefore, that the previous question was not sustained. I am egotistic enough to believe that the phraseology of the original resolution, as introduced by me, was better than that employed in the pending amendment. The phrase 'civil or political rights or privileges,' which I employed, is broader and more comprehensive than the term 'elective franchise,' for I fear, with the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. Farnsworth], that under the latter phrase the most vicious evasions might be practised. As that gentleman has well said, they might make suffrage depend on ownership of fifty acres of land, and then prohibit any negro from holding real estate ; but no such mockery as this could be perpetrated under the provisions of the amendment as I originally submitted it."

In relation to taxation, Mr. Blaine remarked : "Now I contend that ordinary fair play—and certainly we can afford fair play where it does not cost anything—calls for this, namely, that if we exclude them from the basis of representation they should be excluded from the basis

of taxation. Ever since this Government was founded, representation and taxation have gone hand in hand. If we shall exclude the principle in this amendment, we will be accused of a narrow, illiberal, mean-spirited, and money-grasping policy. More than that, we do not gain anything by it. What kind of taxation is distributed according to representation? Direct taxation. Now, we do not have any direct taxation. There have been but twenty millions of direct taxation levied for the last fifty years. That tax was levied in 1861, and was not collected, but distributed among the States and held in the Treasury Department as an offset to the war claims of the States ; so that, as a matter of fact, we are putting an offensive discrimination in this proposition and gaining nothing for it except obloquy."

On July 12, 1867, Congress having under consideration the government of the insurrectionary States, he made a most important addition to the Fourteenth Amendment, which was generally discussed as "Blaine's Amendment" and was finally adopted in substance. He said :

"My purpose in taking the floor at this time is to say very briefly that whether amended or not I shall vote for this bill ; but at the same time to express the earnest hope that it may be amended in one important feature. I hold in my hand a provision which I trust may be incorporated in it, and I appeal to my distinguished and venerable friend from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] to allow us at least the privilege of a vote upon

it. I propose it as an additional section to the pending bill, and I ask the attention of the House while I read it, as follows:

“SEC.— And be it further enacted, that when the constitutional amendment proposed as article fourteenth by the Thirty-ninth Congress shall have become a part of the Constitution of the United States by the ratification of three-fourths of the States now represented in Congress, and when any one of the late so-called Confederate States shall have given its assent to the same and conformed its constitution and laws thereto in all respects; and when it shall have provided by its constitution that the elective franchise shall be enjoyed equally and impartially by all male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years old and upward, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, except such as may be disfranchised for participating in the late rebellion; and when said constitution shall have been submitted to the voters of said State, as thus defined, for ratification or rejection; and when the constitution, if ratified by the popular vote, shall have been submitted to Congress for examination and approval, said State shall, if its constitution be approved by Congress, be declared entitled to representation in Congress, and Senators and Representatives shall be admitted therefrom on their taking the oath prescribed by law, and then and thereafter the preceding sections of this bill shall be inoperative in said State.”

“Now, I ask, what more does the bill passed to-day in

regard to the civil government of Louisiana demand of that State than this demands of all the States? That applies to only one State; you have said nothing of the kind to the other nine; you propose no civil government for them. You do not know what may be the result of that bill. If you incorporate this amendment in this bill and send it to the Senate, whichever bill the Senate may adopt we shall have achieved something as a basis of reconstruction, and we bring Congress up to the declaration of making equal suffrage a condition precedent to admission. We have never done that yet, and for lack of that declaration we are weak before the country to-day.

"It happened, Mr. Speaker, possibly by mere accident, that I was the first member of this House who spoke in Committee of the Whole on the President's message at the opening of this session. I then stated that I believed the true interpretation of the elections of 1866 was that, in addition to the proposed constitutional amendment, universal, or at least impartial suffrage should be the basis of restoration. Why not declare it so? Why not, when you send out this military police authority to the lately rebellious States, send with it that impressive declaration? This amendment does not in the least conflict with the bill for the civil government of Louisiana which we passed to-day. It need not conflict with any enabling act you may pass in regard to the other nine States. If you choose you may follow up this action at the opening of the Fortieth Congress

by passing enabling acts for the other nine States. A declaration of this kind attached to this bill will, it seems to me, have great weight and peculiar significance. It announces to these States what it is important for them to know, and what alone the Congress of the United States can authoritatively declare.

"In the first place, it specifically declares the doctrine that three-fourths of the States represented in Congress have the power to adopt the constitutional amendment, and it does not even by implication give them to understand that their assent or ratification is necessary to its becoming a part of the Constitution. It implies that their assent to it is a qualification for themselves ; merely an evidence, both moral and legal, of good faith and loyalty on their part. We specially provide against their drawing the slightest inference in favor of their being a party in any degree essential to the valid ratification of that amendment."

On the motion to strike Florida from the Reconstruction bill he voted nay. In 1868 he voted for the bill to continue the Bureau for the Relief of the Freedmen and Refugees. He favored the impeachment of President Johnson. When Secretary Stanton was assailed by the party opposed to Reconstruction, he joined in Senator Edmunds' vote of thanks and confidence to him. From the opening of the rebellion he had been the faithful champion of the Union on the floor of the House. When others doubted, he was hopeful ; when others failed, he was stanch ; and when the war was

ended, he was chief among those who strove by judicious and pacific measures to bind the broken Union together.

The high position which Mr. Blaine had won in the House has been elsewhere touched upon, as well as his general popularity among his associates. They were now to give him the highest proof of their esteem.

VI.

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE AND SENATOR.

MR. BLAINE had served six years in Congress and was still a young man, having only reached the age of thirty-nine, when he was chosen Speaker of the House by a highly complimentary vote, the ballot standing 57 for Mr. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, and 135 for Mr. Blaine. The new Speaker was accompanied to the chair by Messrs. Dawes and Kerr, and said :

“GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :

“I thank you profoundly for the great honor which your votes have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me.

“Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have

shown me such marked partiality ; but relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured, your confidence, your kindly aid, and your generous support."

Nothing that could be said of his public career would meet with readier assent from both his enemies and his friends than the statement that he was one of the best equipped men for the position who have sat in the Speaker's chair. This, in the long space during which he presided over the deliberations of the House, was not denied on any hand, and even his Democratic opponents yielded their admiration to his discharge of the difficult duties of presiding officer. His least reasonable detractors have always admitted his eminent fitness for the post, and a writer in a newspaper, professedly opposed to Mr. Blaine, speaking after the nomination, says of his bearing as Speaker : "His quickness, his thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and of the rules, his firmness, clear voice, and impressive manner, his ready comprehension of subjects and situations, and his dash and brilliancy have been widely recognized, and really made him a great presiding officer." And a contemporary account says : "Mr. Speaker is really wonderful for despatch of business. Red tape is not to his notion, and he has an admirable faculty for cutting corners and knocking away obstruc-

tions, so that the House may go by the most direct route to the end it is seeking." Elsewhere it is added: "It has been said that no man since Clay's speakership presided with such an absolute knowledge of the rules of the House and with so great a mastery in the rapid, intelligent, and faithful discharge of business. His knowledge of parliamentary law was instinctive and complete, and his administration of it so fair that both sides of the House united at the close of each Congress in cordial thanks for his impartiality."

The high place in the esteem of his associates which his labors in this office won him is best exhibited by the fact that he was re-elected without opposition from his own party Speaker of the XLIIId and XLIIIId Congresses. This warm approval had its highest expression, however, in a scene said to be without parallel in the history of Congress. It occurred at the end of his third term as Speaker, when on March 5, 1875, he brought the second session of the XLIIIId Congress to a close with the following brief address:

"GENTLEMEN: I close with this hour a six-years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors and equalled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortune in this country have limited the great majority of those who have sat in this chair to shorter terms of office.

"It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life not to be deeply touched by so

signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

“To those from whom I differ in my party relations—the minority in this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event necessarily renders these words my farewell to the chair.

“The Speakership of the House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory, almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity, but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

"Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the XLIIId Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day."

A newspaper of the day adds : "As the Speaker closed his address and walked down from the chair, an outburst of hand clapping and cheers broke from the up-standing members, and was joined in by the immense assemblage on the floor and in the galleries. Never before was witnessed such a scene at the close of a Congress."

Mr. Blaine was not only technically an admirable presiding officer, but during the course of his administration, so far as consistent with his function, threw his weight in favor of economy, of hard money, and of clean public service. One of the most notable instances of this conscientious use of his office on its moral side was his refusal to accept the increased salary which the well-known Salary bill provided for the Speaker. January 31, 1873, the House then considering the bill for the increase of the salary of the President, Congressmen, and others, the Speaker asked permission to make a personal statement and said :

"The Chair now desires to make a statement personal to himself. In reading the bill the Chair presumes the language of this amendment would make the Speaker's salary \$10,000 for this Congress. The salary

of the Speaker, the last time the question of pay was under consideration, was adjusted to that of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. The Chair thinks that adjustment should not be disturbed, and the question which he now raises does not affect the pay of other members of the House. He asks unanimous consent to put in the word 'hereafter,' to follow the words 'shall receive.' This will affect whoever shall be speaker of the House of Representatives hereafter, and does not affect the speaker of this House, but leaves him upon the same plane with the Vice-President and Cabinet officers, upon the salary as before adjusted."

To the Speaker's proposition considerable opposition was manifested, but by his rulings Mr. Blaine sustained his intention. At the next session the bill was repealed in spite of the forces arrayed against it. The two sides were so evenly matched that when a question of adjournment arose, proposed to defeat the repeal, it was negatived by the deciding vote of the Speaker.

When the democratic "tidal wave" of 1874 swept over the country, the Republicans lost their majority in the House and Mr. Blaine returned to the floor. The prestige won as Speaker gave him an especial eminence, and he added to his early reputation as a debater by his fresh and vigorous speeches. He was as before looked up to as the party leader in the House, and began to stand in the minds of Republicans far from Washington as among the foremost men of his political faith. His

adroitness, his swiftness to take advantage of every point which could honestly help forward the measures which he urged, his dexterous exposure of the weakness of his opponent's arguments, above all his assured command of the principles of parliamentary law, rendered him one of the strongest among those who have led political parties.

Among the last measures urged by Mr. Blaine in the House was the adoption of the following amendment to the Constitution :

"No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect ; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations."

This was lost among several other amendments of different purport offered at the same time, among which was that providing that "no person who has held, or may hereafter hold, the office of President shall ever again be eligible to said office."

At about the time this amendment was proposed he took occasion to write a strong letter in favor of it, which contains so sound an argument that the reader must be put into possession of it. Writing of the election in Ohio to a prominent citizen of that State he said :

"AUGUSTA, ME., October 20, 1875.

"**MY DEAR SIR:** The public-school agitation in your late campaign is liable to break out elsewhere, and occurring first in one State and then in another, may keep the whole country in a ferment for years to come. This inevitably arouses sectarian feeling and leads to that bitterest and most deplorable of all strifes, the strife between religious denominations. It seems to me that this question ought to be settled in some definite and comprehensive way, and the only settlement that can be final is the complete victory for non-sectarian schools. I am sure this will be demanded by the American people at all hazards, and at any cost.

"The dread of sectarian legislation in this country has been felt many times in the past. It began very early. The first amendment to the Constitution, the joint production of Jefferson and Madison, proposed in 1789, declared that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' At that time, when the powers of the Federal Government were untried and developed, the fear was that Congress might be the source of danger to perfect religious liberty, and hence all power was taken away from it. At the same time the States were left free to do as they pleased in regard to 'an establishment of religion,' for the tenth amendment proposed by that eminent jurist, Theophilus Parsons, and adopted contemporaneously with the first, declared that 'all powers not delegated to the United States by the Con-

stitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.'

"A majority of the people in any State in this Union can, therefore, if they desire it, have an established Church, under which the minority may be taxed for the erection of church-edifices which they never enter, and for the support of which they do not believe. This power was actually exercised in some of the States long after the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and, although there may be no positive danger of its revival in the future, the possibility of it should not be permitted. The auspicious time to guard against an evil is when all will unite in preventing it.

"And in curing this constitutional defect all possibility of hurtful agitation on the school question should be ended also. Just let the old Jefferson-Madison amendment be applied to the States by adding the following to the inhibitory clauses in section 10, article 1, of the Federal Constitution, viz. :

"'No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; and no money raised by taxation in any State, for the support of the public schools or derived from any public fund therefor, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect, nor shall any money so raised ever be divided between religious sects or denominations.'

"This, you will observe, does not interfere with any State having just such a school system as its citizens may prefer, subject to the single and simple restriction

that the schools shall not be made the arena for sectarian controversy or theological disputation. This adjustment, it seems to me, would be comprehensive and conclusive, and would be fair alike to Protestant and Catholic, to Jew and Gentile, leaving the religious faith and the conscience of every man free and unmolested.

"Very sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE."

Lot M. Morrill, for many years Senator from Maine, resigned in June, 1876, to accept the portfolio of the Treasury, and the Governor of Maine immediately appointed Mr. Blaine to fill the unexpired term. He accepted, July 10th, and was duly installed, when he wrote to his constituents :

"Beginning with 1862 you have, by continuous elections, sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast, in public and in private, that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district it is a great satisfaction to me to know that

with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

The *Kennebec Journal* says :

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support, to the best of his ability, the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting, through the advantage they had already gained, to grasp the supreme power in the nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For what he has done as their representative in Congress,

never will this Third District of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky. His position in national affairs immediately gave him a place among his new associates not common for a young man, and he was presently one of the most prominent figures in the Senate. When the Legislature of Maine met the governor's appointment was confirmed, and when the question of Maine's representation in the Senate again came up he was chosen for the full term ending in 1883. His acts in the Senate are sufficiently set forth elsewhere. He spent five years as Senator, and only resigned his position in 1881 to accept the portfolio of State in Garfield's Cabinet."

EXTRA SESSION OF 1879 AND THE MAINE ELECTION.

WITHIN three weeks of the adjournment of the regular session of Congress, March 4, 1879, the President, it will be remembered, called an extra session. A democratic majority had attempted to starve the Executive into submission to their wishes by refusing to make the usual appropriations for the support of the Government. It was an unprecedented act, though the leaders in it endeavored to find parallels for it. Legislative "riders," as they are called, were not new; the incorporation of legislation in appropriation bills was not unknown. But an attempt like this to force the compliance of the Executive was radically novel, and involved

the most disastrous consequences. It was an occasion for decisive action, and the President lost no time in calling Congress back to the discharge of its neglected duty. Every department of the Government had been left without provision for its continuance. The money which kept them in motion and which Congress, after more or less debate upon the amount, had been accustomed to appropriate to their maintenance from year to year was wanting, and there seemed nothing to do but to close the doors.

In this posture of affairs the President was in need of the ablest seconders of his policy in Congress—men who might rouse the Opposition to a sense of their puerile error. In the House several such men were found, but their leader was Garfield. In the Upper House the assault was led by Blaine. Day after day, with a company of staunch supporters, he exposed the folly of the Democracy. He arraigned them especially for their effort to use a false issue to carry through the measure on which they had conditioned the appropriations. The speech in which he summed up the charge against them is one of the most cogent and striking arguments which Mr. Blaine made in Congress, and so much of it as space can be spared for must be given here.

The Senate having under consideration the bill (H. R., No. 1) making appropriations for the support of the army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, and for other purposes—

Mr. Blaine said :

“Mr. President : The existing section of the Revised Statutes numbered 2002 reads thus :

"No military or naval officer, or other person engaged in the civil, military, or naval service of the United States, shall order, bring, keep, or have under his authority or control any troops, or armed men, at the place where any general or special election is held in any State, unless it be necessary to repel the armed enemies of the United States, *or to keep the peace at the polls.*

"The object of the proposed section which has just been read at the Clerk's desk, is to get rid of the eight closing words, 'or to keep the peace at the polls,' and therefore the mode of legislation proposed in the Army bill now before the Senate is an unusual mode ; it is an extraordinary mode. If you want to take off a single sentence at the end of a section in the Revised Statutes, the ordinary way is to strike off those words ; but the mode chosen in this is to repeat and re-enact the whole section, leaving those few words out. While I do not wish to be needlessly suspicious on a small point, I am quite persuaded that this did not happen by accident, but that it came by design. If I may so speak, it came of cunning, the intent being to create the impression that, whereas the Republicans in the administration of the General Government had been using troops right and left, hither and thither, in every direction, as soon as the Democrats got power they enacted this section. I can imagine democratic candidates for Congress all over the country reading this section to gaping and listening audiences as one of the first offsprings of democratic reform, whereas every word of it, every syllable of it, from its first to its last, is the enactment of a republican Congress.

"I repeat that this unusual form presents a dishonest issue, whether so intended or not. It presents the issue that, as soon as the Democrats got possession of the Federal Government they proceeded to enact the clause which is thus expressed. The law was passed by a republican Congress in 1865. There were forty-six Senators sitting in this chamber at that time, of whom only ten, or at most eleven, were Democrats. The House of Representatives was overwhelmingly republican.

"We were in the midst of a war. The republican administration had a million, or possibly twelve hundred thousand, bayonets at its command. Thus circumstanced and thus surrounded, with the amplest possible power to interfere with elections had they so designed, with soldiers in every hamlet and county of the United States, the republican party themselves placed that provision on the statute-book, and Abraham Lincoln, their President, signed it. . . .

"What then is the real motive underlying this movement ? Senators on

that side, democratic orators on the stump, cannot make any sensible set of men at the cross-roads believe that they are afraid of eleven hundred and fifty-five soldiers distributed one to each county in the South. The moment you state that, everybody sees the utter, palpable, and laughable absurdity of it, and therefore we must go further and find a motive for all this cry. We want to find out, to use a familiar and vulgar phrase, what is ‘the cat under the meal.’ It is not the troops, that is evident. There are more troops by fifty per cent. scattered through the Northern States east of the Mississippi to-day than through the Southern States east of the Mississippi, and yet nobody in the North speaks of it ; everybody would be laughed at for speaking of it ; and therefore the issue. I take no risk in stating, I make bold to declare, that this issue on the troops being a false one, being one without foundation, conceals the true issue, which is simply to get rid of the Federal presence at Federal elections, to get rid of the *civil power of the United States* in the election of Representatives to the Congress of the United States. That is the whole of it, and disguise it as you may there is nothing else in it or of it.

“ You simply want to get rid of the supervision by the Federal Government of the election of Representatives to Congress through civil means, and therefore this bill connects itself directly with another bill, and you cannot discuss this Military bill without discussing another bill which we had before us last winter, known as the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation bill. I am quite well aware, I profess to be as well aware as any one, that it is not permissible for me to discuss a bill that is pending before the other House ; I am quite well aware that propriety and parliamentary rule forbid that I should speak of what is done in the House of Representatives ; but I know very well that I am not forbidden to speak of that which is not done in the House of Representatives. I am quite free to speak of the things that are not done there, and therefore I am free to declare that neither this Military bill nor the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation bill ever emanated from any committee of the House of Representatives at all. They are not the work of any committee of the House of Representatives, and although the present House of Representatives is almost evenly balanced in party division, no solitary suggestion has been allowed to come from the minority of that House in regard to the shaping of these bills. Where do they come from? We are not left to infer ; we are not even left to the Yankee privilege of guessing, because we know. The Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] obligingly told us

—I have his exact words here—that ‘the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] was the chairman of a committee appointed by the Democratic party to see how it was best to present all these questions before us.’

“We are told, too, rather a novel thing, that if we do not take these laws we are not to have the appropriations. I believe it has been announced in both branches of Congress—I suppose on the authority of the Democratic caucus—that if we do not take these bills as they are planned we shall not have any of the appropriations that go with them. The honorable Senator from West Virginia [Mr. Hereford] told it to us on Friday; the honorable Senator from Ohio [Mr. Thurman] told it to us last session; the honorable Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Beck] told it to us at the same time, and I am not permitted to speak of the legions who told us so in the other House. They say all these appropriations are to be refused—not merely the army appropriation, for they do not stop at that. Look for a moment at the Legislative bill that came from the Democratic caucus. Here is an appropriation in it for defraying the expenses of the Supreme Court and the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, including the District of Columbia, etc., \$2,800,000; ‘provided’—provided what? That the following sections of the Revised Statutes relating to elections [going on to recite them] be repealed.

“That is, you will pass an appropriation for the support of the judiciary of the United States only on condition of this repeal. We often speak of this Government being divided between three great departments, the executive, the legislative, and the judicial—co-ordinate, independent, equal. The legislative, under the control of a Democratic caucus, now steps forward and says: ‘We offer to the Executive this bill, and if he does not sign it we are going to starve the judiciary.’ That is carrying the thing a little farther than I have ever known. We do not merely purpose to starve the Executive if he will not sign the bill, but we propose to starve the judiciary, that has had nothing whatever to do with the question. That has been boldly avowed on this floor; that has been boldly avowed in the other House; that has been boldly avowed in Democratic papers throughout the country. . . .

“You say those lights shall all go out and not a dollar shall be appropriated for the board if the President does not sign these bills. There are the mints of the United States at Philadelphia, New Orleans, Denver, San Francisco, coining silver and coining gold—not a dollar shall be appropriated for them unless the President signs these bills. There is the Patent Office, the patents issued which embody the inventions of the

country—not a dollar for them. The Pension Bureau shall cease its operations unless these bills are signed, and patriotic soldiers may starve. The Agricultural Bureau, the Post-office Department—every one of the great executive functions of the Government is threatened—taken by the throat, highwayman style, collared on the highway, commanded to stand and deliver in the name of the Democratic Congressional caucus. That is what it is ; simply that no committee of this Congress in either branch has ever recommended that legislation—not one. Simply a Democratic caucus has done it. . . .

“Some gentleman may rise and say : ‘Do you call it a revolution to put an amendment on an appropriation bill ?’ Of course not. There have been a great many amendments put on appropriation bills, some mischievous and some harmless ; but I call it the audacity of revolution for any Senator or Representative, or any caucus of Senators or Representatives, to get together and say : ‘We will have this legislation or we will stop the great departments of the Government.’ That is revolutionary. I do not think it will amount to revolution ; my opinion is it will not. I think that is a revolution that will not go around ; I think that is a revolution which will not revolve ; I think that is a revolution whose wheel will not turn ; but it is a revolution if persisted in, and if not persisted in it must be backed out from with ignominy. The Democratic party in Congress have put themselves exactly in this position to-day, that if they go forward in the announced programme they march to revolution. I think they will in the end go back in an ignominious retreat. That is my judgment.

“The extent to which they control the legislation of the country is worth pointing out. In round numbers, the Southern people are about one-third of the population of the Union. I am not permitted to speak of the organization of the House of Representatives, but I can refer to that of the last House. In the last House of Representatives, of forty-two standing committees the South had twenty-five. I am not blaming the honorable Speaker for it. He was hedged in by partisan forces and could not avoid it. In this very Senate, out of thirty-four standing committees the South has twenty-two. I am not calling these things up just now in reproach. I am only showing what an admirable prophet the late Vice-President of the Southern Confederacy was, and how entirely true all his words have been, and how he has lived to see them realized.

“I do not profess to know, Mr. President—least of all Senators on this floor, certainly as little as any Senator on this floor, do I profess to

know what the President of the United States will do when these bills are presented to him, as I suppose in due course of time they will be. I certainly should never speak a solitary word of disrespect of the gentleman holding that exalted position, and I hope I should not speak a single word unbefitting the dignity of the office of a Senator of the United States. But as there has been speculation here and there on both sides as to what he would do, it seems to me that the dead heroes of the Union would rise from their graves if he should consent to be intimidated and outraged in his proper constitutional powers by threats like these.

The crisis which inspired this indictment of the Opposition was perhaps more serious than we are likely to remember, since it has safely passed. But that it is not put too strongly by Mr. Blaine is shown by the tone of newspaper comment, of public opinion, and of other speeches made at the time in Congress. Garfield, in the Lower House, said : "I have no hope of being able to convey to the members of this House my own conviction of the very great gravity and solemnity of the crisis which this decision of the Chair and of the Committee of the Whole has brought upon this country. I wish I could be proved a false prophet in reference to the result of this action. I wish that I could be overwhelmed with the proof that I am utterly mistaken in my views. But no view I have ever taken has entered more deeply and more seriously into my convictions than this : that this House has to-day resolved to enter upon a revolution against the Constitution and Government of the United States. . . . I mean to say that the consequence of the programme just adopted, if persisted in, is nothing less than the total subversion of this Government."

To this peril Mr. Blaine addressed himself. He felt its magnitude as deeply as Garfield did, and steadily built up, with the loyal co-operation of other Senators, a bulwark which the Democracy could not pass. When the danger through their labors was overcome, those who watched the momentous debate with patriotic understanding, must have felt that they owed an especial debt to the men who had faithfully upheld the Constitution through these weeks of trial.

But Mr. Blaine's services to his country and party, during this year, did not end here. The organized efforts of the Democrats of Maine to defraud the Republicans of their justly won victory in that State in 1879 is fresh in all minds, and its details need not be entered into here. The defeat of the Democrats was so unquestioned that their opponents had held meetings in celebration of it, at one of which Mr. Blaine had been present and had made a congratulatory speech. The intelligence of the design of Governor Garcelon and his supporters to hold the State government at all hazards fell among the Republicans, who had elected their officers fairly and in due form, with an effect of startling surprise. In their amaze the monstrous attempt might have been carried out under their eyes if Mr. Blaine, with characteristic decision, had not placed himself at their head and set on foot active measures for the rebuke and discomfiture of the authors of this daring attempt to reverse the popular will. He made at once at his home in Augusta an indignant speech, in which he

denounced an undertaking which he justly said "invited the reign of anarchy." To a meeting held in Gardiner he wrote :

" Town government is the bulwark of New England's strength, and it is the sanctity of town government that has been outraged, the rights of town governments that have been destroyed. Thirty-seven members of the Legislature fairly and indisputably elected have been counted out, and in no one single instance did the governor and Council offer a hearing to the people's elect whom they had determined to sacrifice. The dark deed was appropriately done in secrecy and stealth. Four or five who were threatened with disfranchisement did, by urgent solicitation, secure the privilege of appearing before the star chamber council, but they felt and knew that they were talking to men who had prejudged their cause, men who had no ear for reason and no eye for light. Never before in the history of Maine was a party in interest refused a full hearing before the governor and Council, and a full opportunity to examine the election returns. An accurate search into the records shows that in fifty-nine years there have been just sixteen cases in which the governor and Council found the official returns so fatally defective in form as to deprive a candidate apparently elected of his certificate, averaging one case in a little less than four years. Governor Garcelon and his Council find thirty-seven fatally defective returns in a single year, and by one of those providential dispensations or happy accidents, which only come to bless

the just and encourage the righteous, every one of those thirty-seven fatally defective reforms was declared by a Democratic Council to exist in districts that had chosen Republican Senators or Representatives.

"They only claim that certain returns are defective on technical points, narrow and immaterial in themselves, and easily corrected under the laws of the State, and then they claim the right to set aside and disobey those laws. They hold towns accountable for not complying with the strictest letter and last exaction of one statute, and then defiantly proclaim their right to nullify other statutes in the same book on the same subject. In other words, they claim that the statutes regulating the duty of town officers shall be fulfilled to the uttermost and minutest point, while the statute prescribing the duty of the governor and Council may be set aside by a sort of plenary power of dispensation extended to them alone. . . .

"For the first time in history the party defeated at the polls refuses to obey the popular decree, soils the record of the State with fraud, and invites the reign of anarchy. It is for the people whose will is defied to find their remedy and vindicate their sovereignty."

The measures which followed were directed by Mr. Blaine, and were decided but pacific. By his efforts an open conflict was averted, and in the end the Democrats were forced to yield their untenable position and to surrender the State government to the rightfully elected officers. The result was due almost entirely to Mr. Blaine's sagacious endeavors, and the people of Maine have not forgotten to be grateful to him for them.

VII.

THE CURRENCY.

MR. BLAINE was opposed to the Bland Silver Bill as it passed both Houses and finally passed over the veto of the President. His position upon it was essentially that made known by President Hayes in his annual message to Congress preceding the passage of the bill, and afterward in vetoing it. Mr. Blaine was not in favor of the bill, but as he saw it must pass, endeavored to better it by offering an amendment making the dollar 425 grains, and was earnest in his opposition to the dollar of 412½ grains.

His arguments took the general ground of the injustice of coining a dollar of such weight—a weight, as is well known, worth at the time but ninety to ninety-two cents, as compared with the standard gold dollar—and making it a legal tender for debts contracted to be paid in dollars of one hundred cents. His remarks upon the question were scattered through the debate, and were often made in question or reply to other Senators. Certain of them are reproduced here without attempt to give them continuity:—

"What I meant and what I answered the Senator from Michigan was this: That Senator was maintaining that, regardless of the weight of this dollar, the moral weight of this Government beneath it could float it. The Senator, when he comes to argue, refers to the application of money. If you owe a debt you have got to pay it; but does the Senator say that, however great the moral worth of this Senate or the moral worth of the nation that the Senate represents, it can throw that moral worth into the scales to throw up or weigh down an indifferent or short dollar? At what particular per cent. in the dollar does the Senator put moral worth? Is it eight or ten? What is the component part, when you come to the one hundred cents that make up a dollar, that the moral worth of any nation gives it?

"I should like to ask the honorable Senator a question before he sits down, because I would certainly take his judgment on a question of honor as quick as that of any man in the country. If the Senator had borrowed, at a very low rate of interest, \$10,000, and he asked the lender of the money to give it to him in gold coin, for he must have gold coin, and he got it because of his undoubted credit at a low rate of interest, and he only paid four or four and one-half per cent. interest on it, would he consider himself, as an honorable man, if by any action of any other body, governmental or corporate, he was absolved from paying in as good as he got?

"Now, I say that the Senator (Thurman) has sat here for eight years and seen that go forward, and the Senator from Ohio would put his right hand in the fire and follow it with his left, and have them both burned off, before he would start an agent in the field for himself to take from the farmers in Ohio gold coin, his agent representing all the time that they should be repaid in gold coin, and then turn around and say : 'Why, my friend, there is not a word in my note about gold coin ; to be sure my authorized agent said so to you, to be sure I got it, and got its full value ; but when you come to read my note'—like the small print in an insurance policy that always covers the rascality under which the company escapes its liabilities—'when you come to read my note, or when you come to read the Government note, there is not a word about paying you back in as good as you gave, and I am going to take advantage of it now to pay you back in a great deal less than you gave.' The Senator from Ohio might stand here and protest, until to-morrow's sun shone forth and set again, that he would not do it, and I would believe him ; I know he would not do it ; he never would dishonor a name that stands as high as his own, and I only ask him to apply to the faith and honor and credit of the Government the same measure that he applies to himself. Sir, all this discounting and dishonoring what the agents say, and endeavoring to show that they had no authority, is unworthy of being presented here, because if you give that argument its utmost scope and verge it only says that the Govern-

ment was not the buyer but simply the receiver of stolen goods. . . .

"Just now the Senator said he would not vex his soul about what should be done thirty years hence. Here are \$280,000,000 that will be at your door three years hence. What are you going to do with it? . . . He [Mr. Howe] does not come square up and say that he, as a man holding in his hand a loan of \$10,000 which he exacted in coin, and because of his great credit got at four per cent. interest, will, if he from any cause has the power, evade under the law its full payment, and that he has no power to declare differently for himself, that the Government would feel justified in that great court which is above laws and above nations and above individuals, the Court of Honor."

In December, 1867, he made a striking speech on the finances, in which he said of Mr. Pendleton's greenback theory: "The remedy for our financial troubles will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction, and the sooner the Nation finds itself on a specie basis the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment and private business be relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal-tenders, with their constant depreciation, if not destruction, of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars."

But Mr. Blaine's most solid and brilliant utterance on

the Currency was made in an elaborate speech in the House, February 11, 1876. This is too long for reproduction here, but it is given in its main points in the Appendix, where it will be found extremely well worth perusal.

VIII.

THE TARIFF.

THE biographer of Mr. Blaine has a brief story to tell of his course upon the tariff. He has not to follow him through windings of any sort, nor to record retreats or hesitations. His course from the beginning upon this important question has been consistent and straightforward. He has not faltered from his entrance upon public life in the earnest belief that the collection of revenue from imports should be made to serve the double purpose of furnishing the national purse and of bringing into life national industries, while, once born, he would strengthen their hands.

His sense of the need of protection as protection has been positive, and has not skulked in disguises of any sort. This is not to say that he is blind to the inequalities of the tariff, or is insensible of the need of a gradual reduction of imports laid under the necessities of war. But it is not to be denied that he is opposed to the headlong zeal which expresses itself in ill-judged efforts to hastily overturn the slow-built safeguards of business and to shake commercial values.

If the history of Mr. Blaine's course upon the tariff is brief, it is because it has felt but a single impulse behind it ; not because that impulse has failed to make itself abundantly known in his utterances. He has announced his belief and urged the argument for the fostering of home industries by the tariff with unfailing energy and in no uncertain voice. The ambiguous attitude of the Democracy upon this issue in former Presidential campaigns has offered him a fruitful point of attack. Unconditionally Mr. Blaine is for American labor, and opposed to bringing into competition with it the ill-paid labor of Europe. His has come to be the name which most surely stands for the theories bound up in the long and prosperous practice of the country, theories which are summed up in the word "protection."

His position upon the tariff is not a mere following of party dictates. The doctrine which he maintains is a doctrine based upon knowledge and experience, and is dear to him as a personal conviction. His speeches on the floor of Congress, at political meetings, and wherever his voice has been heard, have been distinguished even above his other speeches by their earnestness and sincerity, qualities which have not been a more conspicuous trait of any American public speaker.

The chapter in his recently published volume dealing with this subject is strikingly impartial and weighs the opposing arguments with an even-handed scrupulousness, not to be expected of a man whose life-work has been of necessity rather that of an advocate than a judge. He

compares the two systems currently known as free-trade and protection historically, going back to the foundations of the Government. The free-trade argument is stated no less amply than the theory of the protectionists. The acts of both parties are balanced, and their results calmly stated. When the protectionists went too far, exaggerated their function, Mr. Blaine sets it fairly down, and without prejudice makes the like record on the other side. Within its space the reader is not likely to find a more trustworthy account of this long contest between two honestly held principles.

When he has completed the summary, in which he properly keeps the judicial attitude, he makes a brief statement of his conclusions, which is touched, as the best historical evidence is, with the writer's individuality. As is becoming, it does not make unmistakable announcement of personal opinion ; but it is a setting forth of the case which will commend itself to the reasonable mind, and as such may be set down here :

“ Strictly speaking,” he says,* “ there has never been a proposition by any party in the United States for the adoption of free trade. To be entirely free, trade must encounter no obstruction in the way of tax, either upon export or import. In that sense no nation has ever enjoyed free trade as contradistinguished from the theory of protection. England has realized freedom of trade by taxing only that class of imports which meet no compe-

* Twenty Years of Congress, p. 208.

tition in home production, thus excluding all pretence of favor or advantage to any of her domestic industries. England came to this policy after having clogged and embarrassed trade for a long time by the most unreasonable and tyrannical restrictions, ruthlessly enforced, without regard to the interests or even the rights of others. She had more than four hundred acts of Parliament regulating the tax on imports, under the old designations of 'tonnage and poundage,' adjusted, as the phrase imports, to heavy and light commodities. Beyond these she had a cumbersome system of laws regulating, and in many cases prohibiting, the exportation of articles which might teach to other nations the skill by which she had herself so marvellously prospered. When by long experiment and persistent effort England had carried her fabrics to perfection ; when by the large accumulation of wealth and the force of reserved capital she could command facilities which poorer nations could not rival ; when by the talent of her inventors, developed under the stimulus of large reward, she had surpassed all other countries in the magnitude and effectiveness of her machinery she proclaimed free-trade, and persuasively urged it upon all lands with which she had commercial intercourse. Maintaining the most arbitrary and most complicated system of protection as long as her statesmen considered that policy advantageous, she resorted to free trade only when she felt able to invade the domestic markets of other countries and undersell the fabrics produced by struggling artisans

who were sustained by weaker capital and less advanced skill. So long as there was danger that her own marts might be invaded, and the products of her looms and forges undersold at home, she rigidly excluded the competing fabric and held her own market for her own wares.

“England was, however, neither consistent nor candid in her advocacy and establishment of free trade. She did not apply it to all departments of her enterprise, but only to those in which she felt confident that she could defy competition. Long after the triumph of free trade in manufactures as proclaimed in 1846, England continued to violate every principle of her own creed in the protection she extended to her navigation interests. She had nothing to fear from the United States in the domain of manufactures, and she therefore asked us to give her the unrestricted benefit of our markets in exchange for a similar privilege which she offered us in her market. But on the sea we were steadily gaining upon her, and in 1850-55 were nearly equal to her in aggregate tonnage. We could build wooden ships at less cost than England, and our ships excelled hers in speed. When steam began to compete with sail she saw her advantage. She could build engines at less cost than we, and when, soon afterward, her ship-builders began to construct the entire steamer of iron her advantages became evident to the whole world.

“England was not content, however, with the superiority which these circumstances gave to her. She did not

wait for her whole theory of free trade to work out its legitimate results, but forthwith stimulated the growth of her steam marine by the most enormous bounties ever paid by any nation to any enterprise. To a single line of steamers running alternate weeks from Liverpool to Boston and New York, she paid \$900,000 annually, and continued to pay at this extravagant rate for at least twenty years. In all channels of trade where steam could be employed she paid lavish subsidies, and literally destroyed fair competition, and created for herself a practical monopoly in the building of iron steamers. Her course, in effect, is an exact repetition of that in regard to protection of manufactures, but as it is exhibited before a new generation, the inconsistency is not so readily apprehended nor so keenly appreciated as it should be on this side of the Atlantic. Even now there is good reason for believing that many lines of English steamers, in their efforts to seize the trade to the exclusion of rivals, are paid such extravagant rates for the carrying of letters as practically to amount to a bounty, thus confirming to the present day (1884) the fact that no nation has ever been so persistently and jealously protective in her policy as England, so long as the stimulus of protection is needed to give her the command of trade. What is true of England is true in a greater or less degree of all other European nations. They have, each in turn, regulated the adoption of free trade by the ratio of their progress toward the point where they could overcome competition. In all those departments of trade where

competition could overcome them, they have been quick to interpose protective measures for the benefit of their own people.

"The trade policy of the United States at the foundation of the Government had features of enlightened liberality which were unknown in any other country of the world. The new government was indeed as far in advance of European nations in the proper conception of liberal commerce as it was on questions relating to the character of African slave-trade. The colonists had experienced the oppression of the English laws which prohibited exports from the mother country of the very articles which might advance their material interest and improve their social condition. They now had the opportunity, as citizens of a free Republic, to show the generous breadth of their statesmanship, and they did so by providing in their Constitution, that Congress should never possess the power to levy 'a tax or duty on articles exported from any State.' At the same time trade was left absolutely free between all the States of the Union, no one of them being permitted to levy any tax on exports or imports beyond what might be necessary for its inspection laws. Still further to enforce this needful provision, the power to regulate commerce between the States was given to the General Government. The effect of these provisions was to insure to the United States a freedom of trade beyond that enjoyed by any other nation. Fifty-five millions of American people (in 1884), over an area nearly as large as the entire con-

tinent of Europe, carry on their exchanges by ocean, by lake, by river, by rail, without the exactions of the tax-gatherer, without the detention of the custom-house, without the recognition of the State lines. In these great channels the domestic exchanges represent an annual value perhaps twenty-five times as great as the total of exports and imports. It is the enjoyment of free trade and protection at the same time which has contributed to the unexampled development and marvellous prosperity of the United States.

"The essential question which has grown up between political parties in the United States respecting our foreign trade, is whether a duty should be laid upon any import for the direct object of protecting and encouraging the manufacture of the same article at home. The party opposed to this theory does not advocate the admission of the article free, but insists upon such rate of duty as will produce the largest revenue and at the same time afford what is termed 'incidental protection.' The advocates of actual free-trade according to the policy in England—taxing only those articles which are not produced at home—are few in number and are principally confined to *doctrinaires*. The instincts of the masses of both parties are against them. But the nominal free-trader finds it very difficult to unite the largest revenue from any article with 'incidental protection' to the competing product at home. If the duty be so arranged as to produce the greatest amount of revenue, it must be placed at that point where the foreign

article is able to undersell the domestic article, and thus command the market to the exclusion of competition. This result goes beyond what the so-called American free-trader intends in practice, but not beyond what he implies in theory.

"The American protectionist does not seek to evade the legitimate results of his theory. He starts with the proposition that whatever is manufactured at home gives work and wages to our own people, and that if the duty is even put so high as to prohibit the import of the foreign article, the competition of home producers will, according to the doctrine of Mr. Hamilton, rapidly reduce the price to the consumer. He gives numerous illustrations of articles which under the influence of home competition have fallen in price below the point at which the foreign article was furnished when there was no protection. The free-trader replies that the fall in price has been still greater in the foreign market, and the protectionist rejoins that the reduction was made to compete with the American product, and that the former price would probably have been maintained so long as the importer had the monopoly of our market. Thus our protective tariff reduced the price in both countries. This has notably been the result with respect to steel rails, the production of which in America has reached a magnitude surpassing that of England. Meanwhile rails have largely fallen in price to the consumer, the home manufacturer has disbursed countless millions of money among American

laborers, and has added largely to our industrial independence and to the wealth of the country.

"While many fabrics have fallen to as low a price in the United States as elsewhere, it is not to be denied that articles of clothing and household use, metals and machinery, are on an average higher than in Europe. The difference is due in a large degree to the wages paid to labor, and thus the question of reducing the tariff carries with it the very serious problem of a reduction in the pay of the artisan and the operative. This involves so many grave considerations that no party is prepared to advocate it openly. Free-traders do not, and apparently dare not, face the plain truth—which is that the lowest-priced fabric means the lowest-priced labor. On this point protectionists are more frank than their opponents ; they realize that it constitutes indeed the most impregnable defence of their school. Free-traders have at times attempted to deny the truth of the statement, but every impartial investigation thus far has conclusively proved that labor is better paid, and the average condition of the working man more comfortable in the United States than in any European country.

"An adjustment of the protective duty to the point which represents the average difference between wages of labor in Europe and in America, will, in the judgment of the protectionists, always prove impracticable. The difference cannot be regulated by a scale of averages because it is constantly subject to arbitrary changes.

If the duty be adjusted on that basis for any given date, a reduction of wages would at once be enforced abroad, and the American manufacturer would in consequence be driven to the desperate choice of surrendering the home market or reducing the pay of workmen. The theory of protection is not answered, nor can its realization be attained by any such device. Protection, in the perfection of its design as described by Mr. Hamilton, does not invite competition from abroad, but is based on the controlling principle that competition at home will always prevent monopoly on the part of the capitalist, assure good wages to the laborer, and defend the consumer against the evils of extortion."

This is a comprehensive statement of the facts, and must impress the reader as conceived in a spirit far removed from the narrow disposition which supports partisan dogma at any cost—not partisan. Mr. Blaine's adherence is to a system of protection broad enough to embrace something more than is meant by its opponents when they speak of manufacturers clamoring for assistance from the National Government. It includes, as Garfield's wide-reaching idea did, nothing less than the highest well-being of every citizen, whatever his occupation. If Mr. Blaine's thought of the system which he has so vigorously defended was of a scheme for the aid of a class, however large or influential, his fair mind would have no room for it. Protection to him, if we have not misunderstood him, means an encouragement to every form of labor to which the hand of man can

turn—not less to agriculture than to manufacturing, not more vigorous to the making of steel rails than the making of crops. A free, large, and stable inter-state commerce, independent of foreign markets, yet not prejudicial to the development of the merchant marine, is, perhaps, the protectionist's ideal, and possibly that may be left with the reader as a fair summary of Mr. Blaine's theory of the most desirable form of national prosperity.

In 1880, just before the election of Garfield, Mr. Blaine wrote to an inquiring Irishman :

“AUGUSTA, ME., October 27, 1880.

“MY DEAR SIR : I received your friendly letter with much pleasure. Let me say in reply that the course of yourself and other Irish voters is one of the most extraordinary anomalies in our political history. Never, probably, since the execution of Robert Emmet has the feeling of Irishmen the world over been so bitter against England and Englishmen as it is at this hour. And yet the great mass of the Irish voters will, on Tuesday next, vote precisely as Englishmen would have them vote, for the interests of England. Having seen Ireland reduced to misery, and driven to despair by what they regard as the unjust policy of England, the Irishmen of America use their suffrages as though they were the agents and servants of the English Tories. The free-traders of England desire nothing so much as the defeat of Garfield and the election of Hancock. They wish to break down the protective tariff and cripple our manu-

factures, and nine-tenths of the Irish voters of this country respond with alacrity, "Yes, we will do your bidding and vote to please you, even though it reduce our own wages and take the bread from the mouths of our children." There are many able men and many clever writers among the Irish in America, but I have never met any one of them able enough and clever enough to explain this anomaly on any basis of logic and good sense. I am glad to see from your esteemed favor that the subject is beginning to trouble you. The more you think of it the more you will be troubled, I am sure. And you will be driven finally to the conclusion that the prosperity of the Irish in this country depends as largely as that of any other class upon the maintenance of the financial and industrial policy represented by the Republican party.

"Very truly yours, J. G. BLAINE."

The following is extracted from a speech of Mr. Blaine upon protection at the opening of the permanent Exhibition at Philadelphia, May 10, 1878.

"Let us look at our actual condition and draw thence some instruction, which may silence partisan strife over questions of domestic economy. To those who doubt the development of home industries under the stimulus of protection to the American inventor and the American mechanic, I say, stand on this platform and look around you. Argument may well cease in the face of a positive demonstration. Clamorous contradiction

may well be silenced in the presence of an irrefutable conclusion. To those who think we need the vigor and independence which free trade can impart, I say, Look abroad over the domain of the United States of America inhabited by a population that will soon be fifty millions, with fifteen thousand miles of ocean front on the Atlantic, the Gulf, the Pacific, and the Arctic ; with five great interior seas, each more valuable than those waters for whose mastery European empires wage bloody and wasteful wars ; with rivers meeting our States in a network of inland navigation greater in extent than all the rivers of Europe combined ; with our railways joining lake to gulf and ocean to ocean ; and then remember and reflect that on all our ocean coast, on all our interior seas, on all our rivers, over all our railroads, between all our States and with all our Territories, trade is absolutely free for all American products without fetter, or duty, or charge, or fee, or any governmental tax whatever, national, State or municipal ; and remember too that the great organic law of the land declares that it shall always remain so. And I here assert that, enjoying as we have enjoyed, and as I hope we shall enjoy, the full benefit of protection to American industry against injurious competition from abroad, we have also enjoyed and do enjoy among ourselves the blessings of absolute free trade beyond that ever realized in the world elsewhere by so large a population, over so vast an extent of country. The aggregate of our domestic commerce is astounding in its figures. The vast importance of

our foreign commerce is now exciting general interest and enlisting the attention of the whole country. It has grown so large that its total for a single year amounts to nearly \$1,200,000,000, and its importance cannot be over-estimated. But compared with our domestic commerce, it is absolutely insignificant in amount. The traffic by railroad alone in this country is estimated to be sixteen times as large as the whole of our foreign commerce, and when you add to that the commerce of lake and river and canal, you have an aggregate of domestic exchanges that amounts to twenty-five times as much as the foreign commerce, including the exports and imports.

"And thus it is, Mr. President, that the system of absolute free trade among ourselves, and of production with respect to foreign nations, has created and developed those great industries, whose richest and ripest fruits we see around us here to-day. I congratulate you on the auspicious results of your energy and your enterprise, and I predict with confidence that your labors will be amply repaid by the increased trade of your great and growing and patriotic city, and repaid again by the intelligent gratitude of that great mass of the American people who know and who feel that the country is always happiest and most prosperous when labor is honorably employed and amply compensated at home."

During 1878 he was also present at a demonstration made at Chester, Pa., against a bill then before Con-

gress which proposed the reduction of duties. He said —and this may fitly close our chapter :

GOVERNMENT AID TO FOREIGN SHIPS.

“When we contemplate this condition of affairs the doctrinaire of free trade steps forward with his ready suggestion and says : ‘Give us free ships and we will at once establish steamship lines between our ports and Europe.’ The genuine free-trader never believes that anything can be produced in this country as cheap or as good as it can be found abroad, and if you offer him for \$68 currency per ton a steamship built on the Delaware he will try to persuade you that one built on the Clyde for £14 per ton is a vast deal cheaper, though the American iron used in our steamships is admitted to be of better quality than that employed in the English yards. But if you gratify the whim of the free-trader and permit American registers to underlie and the American flag to float over any ship, wherever built, what have you gained ? Can you run these lines on the basis of free trade against the English and French lines that are aided and upheld by their governments ?

AMERICA’S POSSIBILITIES.

“If our country were for a few persistent years of like mind with Great Britain and France on this great commercial question, you would find all over the land great shipyards springing up to supply the demand for the

steam marine of America. When we had a fair chance and equal terms our sailing vessels gained on Great Britain until, for the last ten years before the outbreak of the Rebellion, we were abreast if not ahead of her in aggregate tonnage ; and on equal footing we should soon do the same in our steam marine. But with England and France aiding their lines with mail contracts to drive other lines from the sea it is idle to enter the race. A very small amount comparatively would enable us to become the victors in the struggle for ocean supremacy. What it costs us to support two regiments of cavalry or maintain five large men-of-war could give us lines of first-class American steamships to foreign ports, from at least six of our principal commercial ports. We stand in the position to be the first commercial nation in the world. Alone of all the great Powers we have a vast frontage on the two oceans whose waters bound all the continent and float the commerce that文明izes and enriches the world. Our coast line is longer than that which borders Europe ; our harbors are more numerous and capacious than those of all our maritime rivals combined. Nature has given us the position and the power to lead the commercial world. Shall we use our opportunity or abandon the field to those who have not a tittle of our advantage ? If we can only regain the proportion of our commerce which we held in 1856, the profit to our people will be more than \$100,000,000 per annum. Shall we go forward or shall we continue to retreat ? ”

IX.

AMERICAN SHIPPING.

THE attitude of Mr. Blaine upon foreign commerce is not a doubtful one. It has frequently been made known ; but it is perhaps most fully expressed in the admirable speech in response to a toast at the annual dinner of the New York Chamber of Commerce, May 13, 1879. It is a concise statement, backed by an array of figures and a solidity of argument that takes it out of the amiably light class of after-dinner speeches and makes it worth reproduction here.

Mr. Blaine said :

You will permit me to say, speaking as an outsider, to the Chamber of Commerce, and coming as I do from a commercial State, that commerce as well as religion needs a revival in this country. Every other interest in this country for the last fifteen years, even including the year 1866-67, a year of doubt and depression, has been gathering strength and is ready to march forward to victory, save only the commerce of the country. Now I suppose that figures are familiar to you, gentlemen, but the figures of American commerce, in its decline, are startling. Twenty years ago, of the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade of the United States fully three-fourths was American tonnage. Of the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade of the United States to-day not one-fourth is American. In 1856-57 Great Britain, the leading com-

mercial nation of the world, had only 950,000 tons engaged in trade between the United States and that kingdom. She has 5,200,000 tons now. Germany then had but 160,000 tons. She has 950,000 tons now. Norway and Sweden twenty years ago had in trade between this country and their own but 20,000 tons. Last year's reports show that she had 850,000 tons. Even Austria, penned up with a limited seaboard as she is, had in commerce with us, twenty years ago, not a vessel of her own ; but last year she had no less than 220,000 tons. And I might go on thus through the whole list.

In this mighty increase of commerce, from 4,400,000 to over 10,000,000 tons in a single year, the United States has gone backward, and all the vast profit of this trade has gone into the coffers of other nations. Let me ask of you here what other interests have gone backward in that period. Have manufactures ? They have outstripped imagination. Has agriculture ? It has gone ahead of every calculation. Has internal commerce ? Why, we have increased from 30,000 to 68,000 miles of railroads, and the Government of the United States, besides giving sixty millions in money, has given to internal commerce over 200,000,000 acres of the public domain—more than New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maryland combined. And meantime she has protected by tariff every article that the American artisan and the American capitalist would invest in the manufacture of. But for the foreign commerce of this country what has she done ? Left it to the alien and the stranger, and in the last ten years the value of the products carried between this country and foreign countries has exceeded \$11,000,000,000 a year, out of the carrying of which somebody has made \$110,000,000 per annum—a sum far larger than the public debt. And who has made this money ? France, England, Germany—everybody excepting the United States. Think of it ! \$110,000,000, in gold coin, has gone out of the commerce of this country into the commerce of other countries. Can New York stand this ? Can this great port sustain such loss as this, with all her unbounded advantages of position and resources, and with the magnificent continental commerce that stands behind her ? I say, gentlemen, that if the carrying trade of this country, aggregating \$110,000,000, is permanently turned from us, then the question of specie payments becomes one of far more complicated difficulty than it is to-day, and the only way to make that question easier of solution is to turn that current of gold from those coffers into our own. I said just now that I have come from a commercial State ; but our State is a State that flourishes with fleets of sailing ships, and the day

of sailing vessels in commerce is over. The North Atlantic commerce is in the hands of the steamships to-day, and of this your own commerce, from your own port of New York, represents at least 2,000 vessels of 1,000 tons each, and it is all in the hands of Europeans. An old ship captain was once telling me of the value of commerce. He was one of those wise, thrifty captains of the old time, who owned a share of his vessel himself, and some of you, doubtless, have met a few of his class. He said, "People don't understand this commercial question. I once took a load of coal from Cardiff to Valparaiso, and I got considerable more for carrying it than the coal was worth. Then I took back a cargo of guano from the Chinchas, and I was paid more for carrying that than the cargo was worth ; and so I made more out of the wind and waves than these merchants did with all their risk and shrewdness." And this is what commerce does.

But since that time great changes have taken place in the methods of commerce, and great changes are going on to-day. Lord Beaconsfield has said that in the last ten years the loss to the landed estates of Great Britain has amounted to £8,000,000 sterling. Now this great loss is easily accounted for, if we look for it. It is a result of the progress made in the means and facilities of cheap transportation. To-day you can put a barrel of flour or a bushel of wheat from Chicago into Liverpool at a cheaper rate than you could bring it ten years ago from Buffalo to New York. With this cheap rate for freights, therefore, the great landed estates of England, that are rented at £2 to £2 10s. per acre, cannot pretend to compete with products that are raised on lands the fee-simple of which is not half so much as the annual rental of the English lands. In view of these facts, I say we are destined to feed the world, because we can do it cheaper than anybody else can do it. We are, in fact, doing that to-day, and yet we are weekly losing the opportunity to reap those vast profits that come from the carrying trade of our own products. There is no reason why this should be so. There are persons here, I dare say, that can remember when Clinton's Ditch (the Erie Canal) had the water let into it. Nobody appears willing, I see, to acknowledge such antiquity ! [A voice—"Yes, yes, here !"] Well, you all probably have heard of it. Why, the tonnage from New York to Buffalo was \$85 a ton the year before that "ditch" was opened, but it fell to \$9 a ton a year afterward. That was considered a marvel. And yet that is more than it is to-day from the far Northwest, from Minneapolis to the principal ports of Europe.

There is nothing that we have not done in this country to encourage

railroad building. We have gone wild on that. We have built them where they were needed, and we have built them where they were not needed. We have built those that paid well with much doubt and blind distrust ; and we have rushed with blind confidence into the building of roads that, after they were built, didn't pay a penny. In this multiplication of lines of transportation we have brought all our vast national products to the seaboard, and think that that is the end of the line. We have reaped the products of it so far, and then are willing to let foreigners have the rest of it. Why, it is one continuous route from Chicago to Liverpool ; but we take 1,000 miles and give 3,000 miles to the foreigner, and that is the way we are dividing our carrying trade. Why should we not carry it across the sea if they can make a profit in doing it ?

As I said at the outset of my somewhat rambling remarks, if you addressed this toast to me, it is to remind me that all my adjurations and declarations up to this time have been futile. If you intend it as a declaration of the Chamber of Commerce, that its influence and resources, and the influence of the vast forces of our country, are to be used in the effort for a revival of American commerce, you may consider the thing is accomplished. "If it is possible, it is done already. If it is impossible, you will see that it is done." You can apply the Talleyrand motto to this question. *You* can do it, and no other power in this country can do it. I am not here, of course, to invoke any controversy on this matter, but I am here to say that thus far, so far as our legislation is concerned, the influence of New York has not been felt in that direction. When you get ready to exert it let us hear from you by telegraph. When the old lady was training her son for the trapeze, the boy made three or four rather ineffectual efforts to get over the bar. Then she was heard to suggest, "John Henry Hobbs, if you'll just throw your heart over them bars your body will follow." And so it is with you. If New York will throw her heart into this matter the rest will follow, and then we shall have the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests of our country going forward hand in hand, as they should go, mutually supporting each other. I know that there is a difference of opinion as to the means by which this is to be accomplished. One man says, "Tear down your navigation laws, and let us have free ships." Now I am opposed to that, because that does not tend to build up American commerce. I don't believe in false trade-marks. I don't believe that buying a British ship, and calling her an American ship, makes her an American ship. I believe that this very day and

hour every single article that goes into the manufacture of a ship can be produced and made as well here as in any spot on this earth. Now, you make a \$500,000 ship, representing a tonnage of say 3,500 tons. Five thousand dollars represent the cost of the original raw material, and \$495,000 represents the value of the labor and skill to be put on those materials by American hands. I say that I am opposed to paying that \$495,000 outside of this country. Just so long as this country fails to become, or delays its arrival at the position of a great and triumphant commercial nation, just so long it is defeating the ends of Providence. We have 17,000 miles of coast line, looking toward Europe, Asia, and Africa, giving us a larger sea frontage than all Europe, beginning at Archangel and running to the pillars of Hercules, and beyond them to the gates of Trebizond. Ralph Waldo Emerson has said that England was great, because she had the best business stand on the globe. That was perhaps once true. But it is true no longer. To-day the best business stand is changed, and it is to be found in the United States, and your great imperial city, with its matchless commercial connections and position, and its magnificent harbor, is destined to be, under the guidance of its merchants, what London has dreamed of, but never yet has realized.

At another time, in answer to a question in the House, he made clear the ground upon which protectionists stand in regard to American shipping.

Mr. Allison said : "I want my friend from Maine to tell us why they ask for free trade in ship-building, and insist upon protection for every other branch of manufacturing industry ?"

Mr. Blaine : "I will answer the gentleman in a word, that the shipping interest is differently situated. When you built a ship for the commerce of the world, you send it abroad to compete with every other ship in every other country. You are unable by your laws to give her any protection or to prevent the greatest competition from every other nation in the world. When

you protect your manufactures at home by laying a duty upon the same manufactures of other countries, why, sir, you shut out the entire competition of the world. If you levy an internal revenue tax on our manufactures here, you at the same time raise the tariff duty in order that the internal tax may not depress the home manufactures or give an advantage to the foreign article. You raise the tariff in order that you may shut out foreign competition. If the gentleman from Iowa cannot see the difference between a vessel launched and that departs for foreign ports not deriving any benefit from our laws, and which has to compete with all the other nations of the world—if he cannot see the difference between that and the manufactures which are protected by a high class of duties, he must then conclude that his logic is false.

“I say further, Mr. Speaker, that I object entirely to this being considered a bounty to the ship-builder. I object utterly to it. I deny it. I deny that it is a bounty. I say that all the ship-builders ask is to be relieved from their burdens. There is a wide distinction in the logic and the statement of the case. You find no protection to these ships. If I build a ship on the banks of the Kennebec, send her to Liverpool, and she meets a ship from the banks of the St. John, or from any other part of the world, now what protection do your laws give her over the foreign ship? What protection do you give her? Not the slightest in the world.”

Speaking again in the House (February 11, 1876)

upon the currency and the relation of paper money to the shipping interest he said : "One great and leading interest of my own and other States has suffered, still suffers, and will continue to suffer as long as the currency is of irredeemable paper. I mean the ship-building and navigation interest—one that does more for the country and asks less of it than any other except the agricultural ; an interest that represents our distinctive nationality upon all seas and in all climes ; an interest more intensely and essentially American than any others that fall under the legislative power of the Government, and which asks only to-day to be left where the founders of the Republic placed it one hundred years ago. Give us the same basis of currency that our great competitors of the British empire enjoy, and we will, within the lifetime of those living, float a larger tonnage under the American flag than was ever enrolled by one nationality since the science of navigation has been known among men. Ay ! more, Sir : give as the specie basis and the merchant marine of America, sailing into all zones and gathering gain in all continents, will bring back to our shores its golden profits and supply to us that coin which will steady our system and offset the drains that weaken us in other directions. But ships built on the paper basis cannot compete with the lower-priced ones of the gold basis, and whoever advocates a perpetuity of paper money in this country confesses his readiness and willingness to sacrifice the navigation and commercial interests for all time.

"It would be an unpardonable weakness in our people—always heroic when heroism is demanded—to doubt their own capacity to maintain specie payment. I am not willing myself to acknowledge that as a people we are less honorable, less courageous, or less competent than were our ancestors in 1790 ; still less am I ready to own that the people of the entire Union have not the pluck and the capacity of our friends and kinsmen in California ; and last of all, would I confess that the United States of America, with 44,000,000 of inhabitants, with a territory surpassing all Europe in area, and, I might almost say, all the world in fertility of resources, are not able to do what a handful of British subjects, scattered from Cape Race to Vancouver's Island, can do so easily, so steadily, and so successfully."

X.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

THERE has been some rather foolish talk about Mr. Blaine's position on the question of Civil Service Reform. It is founded in part upon an ignorance or forgetfulness of certain facts, the most important of which is that he was not a member of Congress when the Civil Service rules which are now operating so admirably were adopted, and was not in a position to publicly make known his ideas upon the subject. But they were already sufficiently announced, and, to those who concerned themselves about the matter, were well understood.

When the discussion arose in its earlier forms he was in Congress, and recorded himself unmistakably upon the issue, going so far as to himself propose an amendment to a civil service bill. The House having under consideration a law prohibiting contributions to election funds by persons employed in the Government service, Mr. Blaine offered an amendment making the provisions of the bill more rigorous, by including in its

scope Senators, Representatives, and Delegates in Congress. The amendment was carried. In speaking for it he said incidentally :

“ I desire to congratulate the House upon the formal surrender, if I may use that word, of that extreme doctrine of State rights which the other side of the chamber have for many years held, in regard to the power of the General Government in any way to regulate elections in the States. It has been the function and, as they considered it, the duty of the Republican party in Congress to pass certain enactments, designed to enforce purity and fairness in elections. They have usually been very strenuously resisted by our friends on the other side, on the ground that the National Government had no power whatever to interfere with or to control elections in the States.

“ This bill proposes to go down into the States and to the counties, and to make it a penal offence, punishable in the courts of the United States, for any officers to contribute any money toward even a county election. I think it a very suggestive, and to me it is a very gratifying, circumstance, that the Committee on the Judiciary of this House, composed of very able gentlemen, a large majority of them Democrats, and the chairman a States-rights Democrat, have reported—and, as I understand it, unanimously—a bill proposing to regulate elections in States and counties. Now this, Mr. Speaker, I regard as a very significant circumstance in the political history of the times ; and it is a very gratifying circumstance,

because from it we may feel assured that the Democratic party will unite with the Republican party in all measures necessary to secure purity and fairness and equality of elections throughout the United States. It was very well remarked yesterday by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Hoar), who offered an amendment to this bill, that the worst form of government in the world to live under is a government of the people, when the majority is bribed ; and he stated very well that there was only one thing worse than the bribing of voters, and that was the fraudulent count of the votes after they were deposited in the ballot-box."

No one, it may parenthetically be said, has been more strenuous and constant in endeavors for the purity of the ballot—the first need of a republic and a thing without which reform in the civil service would be an idle after-thought—than Mr. Blaine. His constant watchfulness for the sacred rights of the voter is a matter as to which no reader of the political history of the last twenty years can well be doubtful. Every phase of the subject has at some time been touched by him, and the pages of the *Congressional Record* are filled with his vigorous words upon it.

The question of tenure of office, as well as that of political contributions by office-holders, has been considered by Mr. Blaine, and the following statement of the ground taken by him on this point, made by *Harper's Weekly*, September 23, 1882, is as fair a presentation of it as could be asked :

"The speeches of Mr. Blaine in Maine and of Senator Harrison in Indiana, with the brief and unmistakable order of Mayor Low in Brooklyn, relieving every employé of all fear of the local Hubbell, and the significant declaration of more than a thousand leading citizens of Massachusetts of all parties that they will vote for no Representative in Congress whose character and record do not promise an earnest and aggressive action for reform, are all unmistakable signs of a public conviction and purpose which will certainly have their way. . . . Mr. Blaine pronounced plainly for some kind of reform, and Mr. Blaine said in detail that he should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable his position, appointed for a specific term, during which he could not be removed, except for cause, to be specified, proved, and recorded, and for subordinate officers he thought that seven years would be a proper term of office."

He spoke from an administrative experience then, as he did a short time before, when, in eulogizing the dead President, he said :

"In the beginning of his Presidential life Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. 'I have been dealing all these years with ideas,' he impatiently exclaimed one day, 'and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the funda-

mental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office.' He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and with the aid of Congress no doubt perfected."

As Secretary of State he, as well as General Garfield, had been beset by office-seekers. The impatient exclamation of the President may fairly be believed to have been not less that of the head of his Cabinet, and surely that officer, intimate in his councils, had a share in forming the plan which the President intended submitting to Congress.

XI.

THE AMNESTY BILL.

ONE of the matters as to which Mr. Blaine was most zealous during his last year in the House, was in his opposition to granting amnesty to Jefferson Davis, Mr. Randall introduced in the House, December 15, 1875, what is known as the Amnesty Bill, removing the political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution. On January 6, 1876, Mr. Blaine obtained consent to have printed the following amendment, and gave notice that he would offer it as an amendment to this bill the succeeding Monday :

“Be it enacted, etc., That all persons now under the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, with the exception of Jefferson Davis, late president of the so-called Confederate States, shall be relieved of such disabilities on their appearing before any judge of a United States court, and taking and subscribing in open court the following oath, to be duly attested and recorded, namely :

I, A. B., do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic ; and that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same ; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion ; and that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of a citizen of the United States."

It is not possible to print here all that Mr. Blaine said in support of his amendment, but it will be as well to make the reader acquainted with some parts of it.

"Every time," declared he, "that the question of amnesty has been brought before the House by a gentleman on that side (the Democratic) for the last two Congresses, it has been done with a certain flourish of magnanimity which is an imputation on this side of the House, as though the Republican party, which has been in charge of the Government for the last twelve or fourteen years, had been bigoted, narrow, and illiberal—as though certain very worthy and deserving gentlemen in the Southern States were ground down to-day under a great tyranny and oppression from which the hard-heartedness of this side of the House cannot possibly be prevailed upon to relieve them.

"If I may anticipate as much wisdom as ought to characterize that side of the House, this may be the last time that amnesty will be discussed in the American Congress. I therefore desire, and under the rules of the House, with no thanks to that side for the privilege,

to place on record just what the Republican party has done in this matter. I wish to place it there as an imperishable record of liberality and large-mindedness and magnanimity and mercy far beyond any that has ever been shown before in the world's history by conqueror to conquered.

" With the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Randall) I entered this Congress in the midst of the hot flame of war, when the Union was rocking to its foundations, and no man knew whether we were to have a country or not. I think the gentleman from Pennsylvania would have been surprised when he and I were novices in the XXXVIIIth Congress, if he could have foreseen, before our joint service ended, we should have seen sixty-one gentlemen, then in arms against us, admitted to equal privileges with ourselves, and all by the grace and magnanimity of the Republican party. When the war ended, according to the universal usage of nations, the Government, then under the exclusive control of the Republican party, had the right to determine what should be the political status of the people who had been defeated in war. Did we inaugurate any measures of persecution? Did we set forth on a career of bloodshed and vengeance? Did we take property? Did we prohibit any man all his civil rights? Did we take from him the right he enjoys to-day, to vote?

" Not at all. But instead of a general and sweeping condemnation the Republican party placed in the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution only this exclu-

sion ; after considering the whole subject, it ended in simply coming down to this :

“ ‘That no person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House remove such disability.’ ”

“ It has been variously estimated that this section at the time of its original insertion in the Constitution included somewhere from fourteen to thirty thousand persons ; as nearly as I can gather together the facts of the case, it included about eighteen thousand men in the South. It let go every man of the hundreds of thousands—or millions, if you please—who had been engaged in the attempt to destroy this Government, and only held those under disability who, in addition to revolting, had violated a special and peculiar and personal oath to support the Constitution of the United States. It was limited to that.

“ Well, that disability was hardly placed upon the South until we began in this Hall, and in the other wing of the Capitol, Congress then being more than two-

thirds Republican in both branches, to remit it, and the very first bill took that disability off from 1,578 citizens of the South ; and the next bill took it off from 3,526 gentlemen—by wholesale. Many of the gentlemen on this floor came in for grace and amnesty in those two bills. After these bills specifying individuals had passed, and others, of smaller numbers, which I will not recount, the Congress of the United States in 1872, by two-thirds of both branches, still being two-thirds Republican, passed this general law :

“‘That all political disabilities imposed by the third section of the fourteenth article of amendments of the Constitution of the United States, are hereby removed from all persons whomsoever, except Senators and Representatives of the XXXVIth and XXXVIIth Congresses, officers in the judicial, military, and naval services of the United States, heads of Departments, and foreign ministers of the United States.’

“Since that act passed a very considerable number of the gentlemen which it left under disability have been relieved specially, by name, in separate acts. But I believe, Mr. Speaker, in no single instance since the act of May 22, 1872, have the disabilities been taken from any man except upon his respectful petition to the Congress of the United States that they should be removed. And I believe in no instance, except one, have they been refused upon the petition being presented. I believe in no instance, except one, has there been any other than a unanimous vote. . . .

“There is no proposition here to punish Jefferson Davis. Nobody is seeking to do it. That time has

gone by. The statute of limitations, common feelings of humanity, will supervene for his benefit. But what you wish us to do is to declare, by a vote of two-thirds of both branches of Congress, that we consider Mr. Davis worthy to fill the highest offices in the United States if he can get a constituency to endorse him. He is a voter; he can buy and he can sell; he can go and he can come. He is as free as any man in the United States. There is a long list of subordinate offices to which he is eligible. This bill proposes, in view of that record, that Mr. Davis, by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and a two-thirds vote of the House, be declared eligible and worthy to fill any office up to the Presidency of the United States."

XII.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

MR. BLAINE has always been distinguished for his virile Americanism ; but he has never taken a firmer or more creditable stand than that which he assumed in regard to English arrests of naturalized Americans in 1867-8-9. The principles for which he in common with other Congressmen contested was a highly important one, and England, after several years of hesitation and resistance, granted the position fully. It consisted in the affirmation that a naturalized citizen of the United States was entitled to the same treatment abroad which would be accorded a native American. England urged the ancient principle of the common law. This held that it was impossible for one born under the sovereignty of England to disclaim allegiance to her. Once an Englishman one was always an Englishman. The occasion of the protest made by Mr. Blaine and others was the arrest in England of Burke, Warren, Costello, and other naturalized Irish-Americans, for concern in Fenian plots.

This, says a writer in Lalor's Political Encyclopædia, in the course of an impartial discussion of these cases, "was the signal for a loud outcry against Mr. Adams, our minister at London, for his alleged failure to exert himself actively in behalf of men who were engaged in unquestionably seditious proceedings, and who sought to use their certificates of naturalization to protect them against the law of the land whose provisions they were openly violating. The course pursued by Mr. Adams, like that recently followed by Mr. Lowell, was wholly in accordance with the usual practice of our Government, and received the unqualified endorsement of the State Department. He was firm to insist upon the thoroughly American principle, that a naturalized American should be treated upon the same footing as a native-born subject of the United States; at the same time he was too much of a statesman not to know that one who violates the law of the land, whether he be a subject or an alien, cannot claim exemption from the penalty; and he was too much of a *diplomate* not to foresee that an attempt to oppose the principle of territorial sovereignty, without being able to show that the law whose enforcement was protested against was abhorrent to the customs of civilized nations, would only involve the mortifying result of placing his government in a position which ultimately they would be forced to abandon. So far from displaying an un-American weakness in yielding to foreign aggression, his attitude was a model of loyal firmness and diplomatic tact. His representations to the British For-

eign Secretary, backed by the sanction of judicial precedent and international practice, showed clearly enough that he would be firm in resisting any encroachments upon the rights of American citizens, as such, while at the same time he avoided even the appearance of an ungenerous and irritating insistence upon purely abstract principles."

It was in Costello's case that Mr. Blaine was especially active. This man had been arrested while in Ireland in 1867, and tried for a speech made in 1865, as an American citizen, in New York. The speech was deemed treasonable by the British Government, and Costello was tried upon this charge. He was convicted under the act of 1848, which made especial declaration of England's right to punish British-born subjects for words or acts of treason spoken or done in a foreign land. The prisoner was sentenced to sixteen years penal servitude. His plea of American citizenship was disregarded upon the ground that no treaty obligation could be alleged against the Act, claiming as a British subject a man native to British soil.

When Costello was removed to Millbank prison, Mr. Blaine urged the question upon the attention of Congress, and mainly by his efforts Costello and other like prisoners who were naturalized Americans were set at liberty. The agitation resulted in the treaty of 1870, in which Great Britain yielded the point, and entirely abandoned the doctrine of a perpetual allegiance. It was a signal victory won upon a point of the most vital

moment to all Americans by adoption. It is to Mr. Blaine's advocacy that naturalized citizens owe the precious immunity guaranteed as to England by the treaty, and maintained in relation to other countries as a principle growing out of it.

XIII.

THE CHINESE QUESTION.

IN the record of Mr. Blaine's term of service as Senator his position upon the Chinese question must have separate attention. His speech when a bill was first proposed in Congress limiting Chinese immigration was the subject of much discussion at the time ; it won him a wide popularity on the Pacific coast, and among those who think with him it has always been held one of the most complete and admirable statements of their view which has been made public.

The opposition to the Chinese in California first took vigorous form in 1877. Some violence accompanied the expression of the sentiment against them, in which Dennis Kearny, an Irish agitator, was the leader. The people of San Francisco elected a clergyman named Kalloch mayor when the question was submitted to the ballot. Mayor Kalloch was adverse to the immigration of the Chinese, and an effort was made to prevent it through a constitutional amendment which readily passed the legislature, and at the polls received the approval of voters of all classes. The higher courts, however, did

not uphold the amendment, and the people of the Pacific coast at length sought relief in Congress. The bill which was introduced restricted the number of Chinese passengers on incoming vessels to fifteen. Said Mr. Blaine, in the Senate, February 14, 1879 :

"It seems to me that if we adopt as a permanent policy the free immigration of those who by overwhelming votes in both branches of Congress we say shall forever remain political and social pariahs in a great free government, we have introduced an element that we cannot handle. You cannot stop where we are ; you are compelled to do one of two things, either exclude the immigration of Chinese or include them in the great family of citizens.

"The argument is often put forward that there is no particular danger of numbers coming here ; that it is not a practical question, and I would ask the honorable Senator from Ohio, if the number should mount up into the millions what would be his view then ? Did it ever occur to my honorable friend that the vast myriads of millions almost as you might call them, the incalculable hordes in China, are much nearer to the Pacific coast of the United States in point of money and passage, in point of expense of reaching it, than the people of Kansas. A man in Shanghai or Hong-Kong can be delivered in San Francisco more cheaply than a man in Omaha now. I do not speak of the Atlantic coast, where the population is still more dense ; but you may take the Mississippi Valley, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas

Missouri, all the great commonwealths of that valley, and they are, in point of expense, further off from the Pacific slope than the vast hordes in China and Japan.

"I am told by those who are familiar with the commercial affairs of the Pacific side that a person can be sent from any of the great Chinese ports to San Francisco for something over \$30. I suppose in an emigrant train over the Pacific Railroad from Omaha, not to speak of the expense of reaching Omaha, but from that point alone, it will cost \$50 a head, and that would be cheap railroad fare as things go in this country. So that in point of practicability—in point of getting there—the Chinaman of to-day has an advantage over an American laborer in any part of the country, except in the case of those who are already on the Pacific coast.

"Ought we to exclude them? The question lies in my mind thus: Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific coast, or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to-day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the ease of transportation before them, with the inducements to come while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is entirely inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast. They are themselves to-day establishing steamship lines, they are themselves to day providing the means of transportation; and when gentlemen say that we admit from all other countries, where do you find the slightest parallel?

And in a republic especially, in any government that maintains itself, the unit of order and of administration is in the family. The immigrants that come to us from all portions of the British isles, from Germany, from Sweden, from Norway, from Denmark, from France, from Spain, from Italy, come here with the idea of the family as such engraven on their minds and in their customs and in their habits as we have it. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element. The idea of comparing European immigration with an immigration that has no regard to family, that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not have in the slightest degree the ennobling and civilizing influences of the hearth-stone and the fireside! Why, when gentlemen talk loosely about immigration from European states as contrasted with that, they certainly are forgetting history and forgetting themselves.

"We must contemplate the fact that with the ordinary immigration that is going on now, if the statistics given by the honorable Senator from California are correct, you are going to have very soon a large majority of the male adults of California non-voters; and with the Republic organized as it is to-day, I make bold to declare that you cannot maintain a non-voting class in this country. It was a necessity to give the negro suffrage. Abused as it has been in the South, curtailed unfairly, it is still the shield and defence of that race;

and with all its imperfections, and all its abuses, and all its shortcomings, either by reason of his own ignorance or by the tyranny of others, the suffrage of the negro has wrought out, or has pointed the way by which shall be wrought out, his political and personal salvation.

"The Senator from Ohio made light of race troubles. I supposed if there was any part of the world where a man would not make light of race troubles, it was here. I supposed if there was any people in the world that had a race trouble on hand, it was ourselves. I supposed that if the admonitions of our own history were anything to us, we should regard the race trouble as the one thing to be dreaded, and the one thing to be avoided. We are not through with it yet. It cost us a great many lives ; it cost us a great many million of treasure. Does any man feel that we are safely through with it now ? Does any man here to-day assume that we have so entirely solved and so satisfactorily settled on a permanent basis all the troubles growing out of the negro race trouble that we are prepared to invite another one ? If so, he views history different from myself. If any gentleman, looking into the future of his country sees, for certain sections of it at least, peace and good order and absolute freedom from any trouble growing out of race, he sees with more sanguine eyes than mine. With this trouble upon us here, not by our fault, to deliberately sit down and invite another and far more serious trouble seems to be the very recklessness of statesmanship.

"Treat them like Christians, my friend says ; and yet I believe that the Christian testimony from the Pacific coast is that the conversion of the Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure ; that the demoralization of the white by reason of the contact is much more rapid than the salvation of the Chinese race, and that up to this time there has been no progress whatever made. I think I heard the honorable Senator from California, who sits on this side of the chamber (Mr. Booth), say that there was not, as we understand it, in all the one hundred and twenty thousand Chinese, more or less (whether I state the number aright or not does not matter), there did not exist among the whole of them the relation of family. There is not a peasant's cottage inhabited by a Chinaman ; there is not a hearth-stone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or a German home, or a French home. There is not a domestic fireside in that sense ; and yet you say that it is entirely safe to sit down here and permit that to grow up in our country. If it were a question of fifty years ago, I admit with my colleague that it would not be practicable. Means of communication, ease of access, cheapness of transportation, have changed the issue and forced upon our attention a crisis in it. I am always disposed to take each Senator's statement about his own State. If I should make a statement about my State, or my colleague, who knows more about it, should make a statement about Maine, I should not feel very well to have it doubted by other Senators. I undertake to believe

at least that if the Congress of the United States should decide adversely, in effect confirming the treaty and the status of immigration as it now is, you cannot maintain law and order in California without the interposition of the military five years hence.

"I do not justify the brutality of the treatment of the Chinese who are here. It is greatly to be regretted ; it is greatly to be condemned ; but you must deal with things as you find them. If you foresee a conflict, I think it is a good deal cheaper and more direct way to avoid the trouble by preventing the immigration.

"I have heard a great deal about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe that cheap labor should be an object of legislation, and it will not be in a republic. You cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where the suffrage is universal legislate for cheap labor. I undertake to repeat that. I say that you cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal legislate in the interest of cheap labor. Labor should not be cheap, and it should not be dear ; it should have its share, and it will have its share. There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day, I say that to my honorable colleagues—whose whole life has been consistent and uniform in defence and advocacy of the interests of the laboring classes—there is not a laboring man on the Pacific coast to day, who does not feel wounded and grieved and crushed by the competition that comes from this source. Then the answer is, 'Well, are not Ameri-

can laborers equal to Chinese laborers?' I answer that question by asking another: Were not free white laborers equal to African slaves in the South? When you tell me that the Chinaman driving out the free American laborer only proves the superiority of the Chinaman, I ask you did the African slave labor driving out the free white labor from the South prove the superiority of slave labor? The conditions are not unlike, the parallel is not complete and yet it is a parallel. It is servile labor; it is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beer, alongside of a man who can live on rice. It cannot be done. In all such conflicts and in all such struggles the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard. Slave labor degraded free labor; it took out its respectability; it put an odious caste on it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States; and a worse than slave labor will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the United States. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free laborer or for the servile laborer from China."

Mr. Blaine's powerful speech has not been given

entire, but enough is reproduced to exhibit the tenor of his argument.

The bill whose passage he urged secured the approval of both Houses of Congress but was vetoed by President Hayes, it being to his sense a violation of treaty obligations. The effort against the Chinese was renewed at the session of 1881-2, and the bill this time introduced was much more rigorous in its provisions, absolutely prohibiting all immigration of Chinese and coolie laborers for twenty years. The author of the bill, Senator John F. Miller, made a strong speech in favor of it and it passed both houses. Mr. Blaine was not then in the Senate.

XIV.

SLANDER.

THESE pages need not be burdened with a defence of Mr. Blaine against the accusations of political enemies. They were disposed of long ago, and if a renewal of the complete answers which have been made to them should be desired it will doubtless be readily furnished from other sources. But without some statement of the charges and Mr. Blaine's refutation of them this could not offer itself as a full history of his life. They must therefore be glanced at briefly.

The story of them is set forth in the *Congressional Record* from Mr. Blaine's mouth, and nothing better can be done than to reproduce it here. On April 24, 1876, he said in the House of Representatives :

“Mr. Speaker, with the leave of the House so kindly granted, I shall proceed to submit certain facts and correct certain errors personal to myself. The dates of the correspondence embraced in my statement will show that it was impossible for me to make it earlier. I shall be as brief as the circumstances will permit. For some

months past a charge against me has been circulating in private—and was recently made public—designing to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of \$64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871—for what services or for what purpose has never been stated. The alleged proofs of the serious accusation was based, according to the original story, upon the authorship of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the Union Pacific company, who, it was averred, had full knowledge that I got the money, and also upon the authority of Morton, Bliss & Company, bankers of New York, through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been negotiated for my benefit, as they confidently knew. Hearing of this charge some weeks in advance of its publication, I procured the following statement from the two principal witnesses, who were quoted as having such definite knowledge against me :

“ ‘ UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,

“ ‘ BOSTON, March 31, 1876.

“ ‘ DEAR SIR : In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During the entire period up to the present time I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person by the company in which you were interested in any manner whatever. I make the statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself.

“ ‘ Very respectfully yours,

“ ‘ E. H. ROLLINS.

“ ‘ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.’

“ NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

“ DEAR SIR : In answer to your inquiry we beg to say that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest of any kind, direct or indirect.

“ We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

MORTON, BLISS & CO.

“ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

“ WASHINGTON, D. C.’

“ Some persons on reading the letter of Morton, Bliss & Co. said that its denial seemed to be confined to any payment that had passed through their books, whereas they might have paid a draft in which I was interested and yet no entry made of it on their books. On the criticism being made known to the firm, they at once addressed me the following letter :

“ NEW YORK, April 13, 1876.

“ DEAR SIR : It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th instant was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated “ that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect.” It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid to us in any form or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

“ We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

MORTON, BLISS & CO.

“ HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

“ WASHINGTON, D. C.’

"The two witnesses quoted for the original charge having thus effectually disposed of it, the charge itself reappeared in another form to this effect, namely : That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Company, in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of \$64,000, and that \$75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral ; that the Union Pacific company paid the draft and took up the collateral ; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott, these Little Rock & Fort Smith bonds which had been used as collateral ; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.

"I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it is absolutely untrue, without a particle of foundation in fact, and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transactions whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or any of its officers or agents or representatives, and never in any manner received

from that company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value. And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation in 1873. But while my denial ought to be conclusive, I should greatly regret to be compelled to leave the matter there. I am fortunately able to sustain my own declaration by the most conclusive evidence that the case admits of or that human testimony can supply. If any person or persons know the truth or falsity of these charges, it must be the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. I accordingly addressed a note to the president of that company, a gentleman who has been a director of the company from its organization, I believe, who has a more thorough acquaintance with its business transactions, probably, than any other man. The correspondence which I here submit will explain itself and leave nothing to be said. I will read these letters in their proper order. They need no comment.

" " WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1876.

" " DEAR SIR : You have doubtless observed the scandal now in circulation in regard to my having been interested in certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road, alleged to have been purchased by your company in 1871. It is due to me, I think, that some statement in regard to the subject should be made by

yourself as the official head of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

"Very respectfully,

J. G. BLAINE.

"SIDNEY DILLON, Esq.,

"President Union Pacific Railroad Company.'

"OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, }
"NEW YORK, April 15, 1876. }

"DEAR SIR : I have your favor of the 13th instant, and in reply desire to say that I have this day written Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who was president of the Union Pacific company at the time of the transaction referred to, a letter of which I send a copy herewith. On receipt of this reply I will enclose it to you.

"Very respectfully,

"SIDNEY DILLON, President.

"HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

"WASHINGTON, D. C.'

"OFFICE OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO., }
"NEW YORK, April 15, 1876. }

"DEAR SIR : The press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company in 1871 were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit, and that the knowledge of those facts rests with the officers of the company and with yourself. These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There were never any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of the company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic

manner, and would be glad to hear from you on the subject. Very respectfully,

““SIDNEY DILLON, President.

““COL. THOMAS A. SCOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.”

““OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY, }
““NEW YORK, April 22, 1876. }

““DEAR SIR : As I advised you some days ago, I wrote Col. Thomas A. Scott and begged leave to enclose you his reply. I desire further to say that I was a director of the company and a member of the executive committee in 1871, and to add my testimony to that of Col. Scott in verification of all that he has stated in the enclosed letter.

Truly yours,

““SIDNEY DILLON, President.

““HON. JAMES G. BLAINE,

““WASHINGTON, D. C.”

““PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1876.

““MY DEAR SIR : I have your letter under date New York April 15, 1876, stating that the press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. J. G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit ; that there never were any facts to warrant them ; that it is your desire as president of the company to repel any such influence in the most emphatic manner, and asking me to make a statement in regard to the matter.

““In reply, I beg leave to say that much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal from

which but a few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my duty to state :

“ ‘That the Little Rock & Fort Smith bonds purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly, and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form.

“ ‘All statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine ever had any transactions with me, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind, are absolutely without foundation in fact.

“ ‘I take pleasure in making this statement to you, and you may use it in any manner you deem best for the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

“ ‘Very truly yours,

“ ‘THOMAS A. SCOTT.

“ ‘SIDNEY DILLON, Esq., President,

“ ‘Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York.’

“ Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I presented : First, that the story of my receiving \$64,000 or any other sum of money, or anything of value, from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony. Second, that no bond of mine was ever sold to the Atlantic & Pacific, or the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of these companies ever went to my profit or benefit. Third,

that instead of receiving bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price ; and instead of making a large fortune off that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities, which I still retain ; and out of such affairs as these grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress. I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones, and at last, the revelations have been made. I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth year of a not inactive service in this hall ; I have taken and have given blows ; I have no doubt said many things in the heat of debate that I would gladly recall ; I have no doubt given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change ; but I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the Great Searcher of Hearts."

Comment upon this need not be made ; but it is worth while to add, as an indication of public sentiment at the time, this fair and ample statement from Mr. George

William Curtis. It appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, May 13, 1876. Mr. Curtis wrote :

" In speaking of the railroad-bond scandal about Mr. Blaine we said that at least it would be admitted that he had always shown himself acute enough to escape the traps into which the honest but dull will often fall. If high principle should be denied to him, and if, as is sometimes asserted, he is merely a politician, yet surely he is a politician of sagacity enough to know that, in public life, honesty, if nothing more, is certainly good policy. The substance of the charge against Mr. Blaine was that when he was Speaker of the House, and when Mr. Thomas Scott was president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, he caused the company to buy bonds to the amount of \$75,000, which were almost worthless, for \$64,000, and the insinuation was that this was a bribe to secure the favor of Mr. Blaine for Mr. Scott's railway projects before Congress. Plainly stated, this was the charge. Of course, if believed it was fatal to Mr. Blaine; and at this time, when the public mind is very suspicious, the mere accusation was not unlikely to be of great injury to him. The story had been privately whispered, and there had been a conference of Republican editors at Cincinnati, which ended by acquainting him of the rumor. Suddenly it was made public in a Democratic paper at Indianapolis, and in other journals in other parts of the country. Then, of course, it was echoed and re-echoed through the whole press. Mr. Blaine instantly published an absolute and complete

denial, and having collected evidence that is apparently conclusive, he made a brief, clear, simple statement in the House, which was as thorough a refutation as was ever made, and, in the absence of other evidence, leaves him unspotted.

"He showed by the testimony of the officers and bankers who had been cited as agents that he had never received from them, directly or indirectly, any money, as charged. Mr. Scott, in the most explicit manner, declared that Mr. Blaine had never had any transaction whatever with him, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind. The treasurer of the road, Mr. E. H. Rollins, was equally precise and unqualified in his declaration, and Messrs. Morton, Bliss & Co., who were said to have been paid the money, said : 'Nothing has been paid by us, in any form or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.' Mr. Blaine states that he bought in 1869 some bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, which derives its franchise and rights entirely from the State of Arkansas. He paid for his bonds the price that all buyers paid, and, with other buyers, he lost by them. His loss was more than \$20,000. All the bonds that he ever bought he held until the company was reorganized in 1874, when he exchanged them for stocks and bonds in the new concern, which he still holds. When the Atlantic & Pacific, and Missouri, Kansas & Texas roads bought some of the securities of the Little Rock road,

Mr. Blaine knew of the negotiation, but none of the bonds sold to those roads belonged to him, nor did he have a single dollar's pecuniary interest in the transaction.

"This is the statement of Mr. Blaine, supported by unquestionable testimony. He has not sought investigation because he knew by experience how long he would have to wait for a report; and while awaiting the slow action of a committee, with the charges still pending, he could not have published the evidence which he has now submitted. He knew, moreover, although he does not say, and everybody knows, that the Democratic investigating committee would have delayed any report until after the Cincinnati convention, as a fatal blow to Mr. Blaine's possible candidacy. But if the House now wishes to open an inquiry he will gladly give all the assistance he can to make it rigorous and thorough. In justice to Mr. Blaine we present the concluding summary of his speech :

[The summary quoted above was here inserted.]

"If nobody now appears to justify this accusation, it must be considered merely one of the reckless slanders to which every prominent public man is exposed, and no charge that may be hereafter made against Mr. Blaine, unaccompanied by weighty testimony, will deserve any attention whatever."

The story of the events which intervened between the date of this clear and convincing statement and June 5th, when he made a personal explanation in the

House, is told by Mr. Blaine in the course of that explanation, and here, as elsewhere, it is preferred to allow him to speak for himself :

MR. BLAINE. "If the morning hour has expired, I will rise to a question of privilege."

THE SPEAKER *pro tempore*. "The morning hour has expired."

MR. BLAINE. "Mr. Speaker, on the second day of May this resolution was passed by the House :

"*Whereas*, it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their market or actual value, and that the board of directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction ; therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances or inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance of any corrupt object ; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers.'

"That resolution on its face and in its fair intent was obviously designed to find out whether any improper

thing had been done by the Union Pacific Railroad Company; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom the transaction was made.

"No sooner was the sub-committee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was evident that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me, and that the Union Pacific Railroad, or any other incident of the transaction, was secondary, insignificant, and unimportant. I do not complain of that; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

"The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard, from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific road, and finally Thomas A. Scott. The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction. When the famous witness Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all of my private memoranda being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more

connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

"And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man has selected, out of correspondence running over a great many years, letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered over the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim that I have the entire right to those letters, not only by natural right, but by all the principles and precedents of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully. The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man for use against me proceeded wrongfully. It proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every American citizen. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.

"I stood up and declined, not only on the conclusions of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the ques-

tion in my person anywhere in the legislative halls or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and impression that because I would not permit that man, or any man whom I could prevent from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence, there must be in it something deadly and destructive to my reputation. I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrong-doing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce these letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect them. But I say that this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with my private correspondence, than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children, not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in the defence of it, here and now if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House I am ready for any extremity of contest or con-

flict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of the outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen, while I read those letters from this desk. [Applause.]

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“The next letter to which I refer was dated Washington, District of Columbia, April 18, 1872. This is the letter in which Mulligan says and puts down in his abstract that I admitted the sixty-four thousand dollar sale of bonds :

“ ‘WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1872.

“ ‘MY DEAR MR. FISHER : I answered you very hastily last evening, as you said you wished for an immediate reply, and perhaps in my hurry I did not make myself fully understood. You have been for some time laboring under a totally erroneous impression in regard to my results in the Fort Smith matter. The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making, and which you seem to have thought were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession forty-eight hours, but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried by every means in my power to protect from loss. I am very sure that you have little idea of the labors, the losses, the efforts and the

sacrifices I have made within the past year to save those innocent persons, who invested on my request, from personal loss.

"And I say to you to-night that I am immeasurably worse off than if I had never touched the Fort Smith matter. The demand you make upon me now is one which I am entirely unable to comply with. *I cannot do it. It is not in my power.* You say that "necessity knows no law." That applies to me as well as to you, and when I have reached the point I am now at I simply fall back on that law. You are as well aware as I am that the bonds are due me under the contract. Could I have them I could adjust many matters not now in my power, and as long as this and other matters remain unadjusted between us I do not recognize the equity or the lawfulness of your calling on me for a partial settlement. I am ready at any moment to make a full, fair, comprehensive settlement with you on the most liberal terms. I will not be exacting or captious or critical, but am ready and eager to make a broad and generous adjustment with you, and if we can't agree ourselves, we can select a mutual friend who can easily compromise all points of difference between us.

"You will, I trust, see that I am disposed to meet you in a spirit of friendly cordiality, and yet with a sense of self-defence that impels me to be frank and expose to you my pecuniary weakness.

"With very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher, I am yours truly,

"J. G. BLAINE.

"W. FISHER, JR., Esq.'

"I now pass to a letter dated Augusta, Me., October 4, 1869, but I read these letters now somewhat in their

order. Now to this letter I ask the attention of the House. In the March session of 1869, the first one at which I was speaker, the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a land grant in the State of Arkansas to the Little Rock road was reported. I never remember to have heard of the road, until at the last night of the session, when it was up here for consideration. The gentlemen in Boston with whom I had relations did not have anything to do with that road for nearly three or four months after that time. It is in the light of that statement that I desire that letter read.

"In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the *Globe*, probably with some curiosity, if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was Speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I came across it, all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter:

(PERSONAL.)

"'AUGUSTA, ME., October 4, 1869.

"'MY DEAR SIR: I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of the Congress.

"'It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, Chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and, by right, entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill as an amendment, the Frémont El Paso scheme—a scheme probably well known to Mr. Caldwell. The House was thin, and the lobby in the Frémont interest

had the thing all set up, and Julian's amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots, and the other members from Arkansas, who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection), were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Frémont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian's amendments, the whole thing could have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

"' In this dilemma Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules ; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that Julian's amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane ; but he had not sufficient confidence in his own knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General Logan was opposed to the Frémont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

"' At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor.

Sincerely yours,

"' J. G. BLAINE.

"' W. FISHER, JR., ESQ.,

"' 24 INDIA STREET, BOSTON.'

"The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in the *Congressional Globe* of the First Session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road.

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"There is mentioned in another letter \$6,000 of land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only part owner; these were only in part mine. As I have started to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869, a lady who is a member of my family and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years—many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit—bought on the recommendation of Mr. Hooper \$6,000 in land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed these bonds. These \$6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

"In 1871 the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe, and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession, and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes and held a part of these bonds as security for that advance. The bonds in that sense, and in that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers; they were all sold finally for her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.

"I have now read these fifteen letters, the whole of them, the House and the country now know all there is in them. They are dated and they correspond precisely with Mulligan's memorandum which I have here.

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"I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee as it affects me is whether I was a party in interest to the \$64,000 transaction ; and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee sustaining that charge. Gentlemen have said that they heard somebody else say, and generally, when that somebody else was brought on the stand, it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel Thomas A. Scott swore very positively and distinctly, under the most rigid cross-examination, all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury, while I show the absurdity of that statement. It is in evidence that, with the exception of a small fraction, the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first mortgage bonds. It is in evidence over and over again that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific road were land-grant bonds. Therefore it is a moral impossibility that the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as different as if not issued within a thousand

miles of each other. So on its face it is shown that it could not be so.

“There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegie, who negotiated the note, never heard my name in that connection. Rollins said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentlemen who have lived any time in Washington need not be told that intangible rumors get very considerable circulation here; and if a man is to be held accountable before the bar of public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand?

“Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of, or more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.

“There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transac-

tion, was asked to send a cable despatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that cable despatch was sent to him?

MR. FRYE. Who?

MR. BLAINE. To Josiah Caldwell.

MR. KNOTT. I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hamton and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell's address, and have not yet got it.

MR. BLAINE. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?

MR. KNOTT. I will explain that directly.

MR. BLAINE. I want a categorical answer.

MR. KNOTT. I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

MR. BLAINE. You did?

MR. KNOTT. How did you know I got it?

MR. BLAINE. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

MR. KNOTT. Answer my question first.

MR. BLAINE. I never heard of it until yesterday.

MR. KNOTT. How did you hear it?

MR. BLAINE. I heard that you got a despatch last Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. [Protracted applause upon the floor and in the galleries.] I want the gentleman to answer. [After a pause.] Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

"The gentleman from Kentucky in responding proba-

bly, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that despatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the despatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott which he had just read in the New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me." (Protracted applause from the floor and galleries.)

The reporter's interpolations give little idea of the enthusiasm with which this manly and straightforward statement was received, and the sensation of sympathy and approval which ran through the House when Mr. Blaine, at the close, advanced to the space in front of the clerk's desk and denounced Mr. Knott, is not to be rendered upon paper. It was agreed among those present that it was the most stirring scene which has taken place on the floor of Congress. The oldest representatives remembered nothing like it, and General Garfield said, "I have been a long time in Congress and

never saw such a scene in the House ; when the Emancipation amendment to the Constitution was adopted there was an exciting scene, but nothing like this. It seems to me that the Judiciary Committee has withheld important evidence which will be ruinous to them, and in any event the day has been a strong one for Blaine and his friends."

Men in the House of all parties, and of all shades of political opinion, agreed that Mr. Blaine's vindication was final, and the further action of the committee which had slandered him was work of supererogation.

XV.

BEFORE THE CONVENTIONS OF 1876 AND 1880.

THE animosity toward Mr. Blaine which, by an interesting coincidence, showed its head scarcely a month preceding the convention before which he was to come as the most prominent candidate for the presidential nomination has been duly treated elsewhere. It is now the business of Mr. Blaine's biographer to give some account of the three conventions of the Republican party at which he has been supported by an earnest following. The company of sturdy friends which has three times urged his nomination is among the most zealous and persistent that has sustained any public man in the history of American politics : twice repulsed, they clung to their candidate with the tenacity of faith, and their final reward has, for the most impartial spectator, the interest which attends every exhibition of steadfastness. Mr. Blaine set his followers an excellent example in his honest and self-denying labors for the election of the two rivals who had defeated him ; and it is a memorable tribute to his singleness of purpose, his devotion to his party, untainted by selfish pangs, that he could so heartily support the man who at the

eleventh hour received a prize all but his, as to be chosen to fill the first place in his Cabinet.

On June 12, 1876, just before the meeting of the first convention at which his name was proposed, Mr. Blaine experienced a sunstroke in Washington which caused alarm at Cincinnati, and, indeed, for a time seemed a serious matter. He appeared to be in sound health before setting out for church on the Sunday morning of the occurrence, but after walking half a mile to Rev. Dr. Rankin's church, at Tenth and D Streets, he suddenly sank unconscious at the threshold. He was carried to a passing omnibus and taken home. His physician pronounced the cause cerebral depression, produced primarily by a great mental strain and secondarily by the action of excessive heat. Since his striking answer in the House to the charges against him he had appeared publicly but once, when he voted in the affirmative on the Frost amended Coin bill. His illness was the inevitable culmination of the long tension to which his mind had been subjected.

At Cincinnati the reports of his condition were greatly exaggerated. It was telegraphed that he had been stricken with apoplexy, and the statement stirred such of the delegates in his interest as had arrived in the city with grave fears. The hotels and telegraph offices at which announcements of the state of the patient were constantly posted during the afternoon and evening of the occurrence were thronged with eager men, and the midnight bulletin indicating that the danger

was passed caused great relief. The anxiety was general, and his most malignant opponents showed no desire for such a victory as for a time seemed probable. Nevertheless, when he seemed on the road to recovery there were not lacking ingenious supporters of other candidates willing to turn the happening to account. The subtle character of brain diseases was urged and the tardiness of recovery from them ; and it was freely predicted that if nominated he would be unable to take the active part in the campaign which had been expected of him. Absolute quiet, the well-known need in all maladies touching the brain, would make the excitement of a campaign dangerous, and even though he might temporarily regain strength, the party could have no assurance that he would not suffer another attack of like nature and die before the campaign was over. This doctor's wisdom was seriously urged upon the abandoned persons who still thought of Mr. Blaine as a candidate with little effect. The party physicians added to their diagnosis the suggestion of remedies which the Blaine men found themselves disinclined to accept. On June 14th the patient was well enough to dictate to Mr. Hale, at Cincinnati, the following telegram :

"HON. EUGENE HALE, *Cincinnati* : I am entirely convalescent, suffering only from physical weakness. Impress upon my friends the great depth of gratitude I feel for the unparalleled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial. J. G. BLAINE."

The convention came together in Cincinnati on Wed-

nesday, June 14, 1876. Its organization was accomplished harmoniously. Theodore M. Pomeroy, of New York, was appointed temporary chairman, and Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, president. The preliminary acts of the convention and the speeches made showed no especial tendency of sentiment except an inclination toward hard money and civil service reform. A newspaper correspondent wrote : "A less attractive place for so distinguished and interesting a gathering could not well be found than this great barn which sprawls over four acres—its architecture that of an ambitious and disappointed railway dépôt, its decorations those of a country barbecue on a four-acre scale, its rafters innocent of any tint except that of age, and its roof an unsightly maze of beams and rafters.

On the second day the platform was adopted. The Blaine men met with a defeat in the acceptance of the report on rules. The nominations were made in the following order : Postmaster-General Jewell, Senator Morton, Secretary Bristow, Mr. Blaine, Senator Conkling, Governor Hayes, and Governor Hartranft. The nomination of Mr. Bristow by George William Curtis was greeted with loud applause, and other candidates had their share. When Colonel Ingersoll rose to name Mr. Blaine a great shout went up. During his speech he was constantly interrupted by applause. Colonel Ingersoll's address has always been regarded by the friends of Mr. Blaine as an admirable summing up of his qualities, and it is certainly one of the most vigorous and brilliant presentations of a candidate's claims to public attention

that convention halls remember. It is filled with the individuality of the orator, but it is also filled with the individuality of his subject ; and it is impossible not to feel, at whatever distance from the occurrence, something of the thrill which affected the convention as the speaker ended his magnificent peroration :

“ Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow ; so am I. But if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory. The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intellect, a man of integrity, a man of well known and approved political opinions. They demand a statesman. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest and broadest and best sense of that word. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with not only the requirements of the hour, but the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this Government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Gov-

ernment. They demand a man who will sacredly prove the financial honor of the United States—one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people. One who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar. One who knows enough to know that all the money must be made not by hand but by labor. One who knows that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honesty to pay it over just as fast as they make it. The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption when they come must come together. When they come they will come hand in hand ; hand in hand through the golden harvest-fields ; hand in hand by the whirling spindle and the turning wheel ; hand in hand by the open furnace-doors, hand in hand by the flaming forges, hand in hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire by the hands of the countless sons of toil. This money has got to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions at a political meeting. The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that this Government should protect every citizen at home and abroad ; who knows that every government that will not defend its defenders and will not protect its protectors is a disgrace to the mass of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation of church and the schools. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star, but they do not

demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has in full habit and rounded measure all of these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party, James G. Blaine. Our country, crowned with the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of its past, prophetic of its future—asks for a man who has the audacity of genius—asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience, and brains beneath the flag. That man is James G. Blaine. For the Republican host, led by that intrepid man, there can be no defeat. This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; filled with the legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of Freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which we call for the man that has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; a man that has snatched the mask of democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; a man who, like an intellectual athlete, stood in the arena of debate, challenged all comers, and who up to this moment is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress and threw his shining lances full and fair against the brazen forehead of every de-

famer of his country and maligner of its honor. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is worse than if an army should desert their general on the field of battle. James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republic. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free. Gentlemen of the Convention, in the name of the great Republic—the only Republic that ever existed upon this earth—in the name of all her defenders and all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living, in the name of all her soldiers who died upon the field of battle, and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby—whose sufferings he so eloquently remembers—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine."

The muddy shower of detraction that fell upon Mr. Blaine in the month preceding the convention which has nominated him is a weak afterburst compared with the storm which assailed him before the convention of 1876. A week had scarcely passed since the memorable day of his striking vindication of himself on the floor of the House. The slanders against him were of no notable importance until within a fortnight of the convention. The shortness of the time left him with opportunity for nothing but a peremptory defence, and his enemies, who had brought about this situation, took

the amplest advantage of it. There were doubts of the expediency of his nomination among certain Republicans and Republican newspapers then as there have recently been—indeed among more Republicans and more party journals, as the matter was so fresh. But his friends kept their unswerving faith, and strengthened and heartened by his splendid personal answer to his defamers went into the convention the staunchest and most enthusiastic body gathered to the support of any of its candidates.

Some recollection of this recent event must remain in all minds, but a summary of the ballots will refresh memory :

	1 st ballot.	2 ^d ballot.	3 ^d ballot.	4 th ballot.	5 th ballot.	6 th ballot.	7 th ballot.
Hayes	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
Blaine	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
Morton	125	120	113	108	95	85	...
Bristow	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
Conkling	99	93	90	84	82	81	...
Hartranft	58	63	68	71	69	50	...
Jewell	11	withdrawn.					...
Wm. A. Wheeler.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	...
Elihu B. Washburne.....	...	1	1	3	3	5	...
Whole number of votes ..	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary to choice.....	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

Fair and conservative estimates before the Mulligan affair had set down his strength on the first ballot at 286 votes. In spite of it he received 285, and added to it immediately 11 further, making 296. From this the vote

varied until the sixth ballot, when it reached 308. On the seventh it attained 351, within 28 votes of the necessary number, when by a union of Morton, Bristow, Conkling, and Hartranft, Governor Hayes was named as the candidate of the convention. It was the strategy of desperation, for Mr. Blaine would almost surely have been nominated on the next ballot.

Mr. Blaine entered the next convention, held at Chicago, June 2, 1880, with almost exactly the same number of supporters which had striven for him in the preceding contest. The fact is remarkable, and most remarkable to those who are best acquainted with the usual working of politics in this country. Four years had been offered his opponents to make combinations against him, four years had been allowed his friends to forget him. He returned to the front after that period with a force changed almost entirely as to its composition, but with only one of the number missing. It was as if he had held them upon waiting orders during the term of Mr. Hayes' administration.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. Personally, Mr. Blaine has organized no army of delegates, and certainly has made no effort to control them during epochs of inaction. He has had generals, but they have not been of his appointing. The maintenance of his strength in three successive conventions would have been a task worthy the labor of the shrewdest political manager, but it was not due to masters of the art of politics. The demand for Mr. Blaine's nomina-

tion has risen from a permanent sentiment in his favor among men who were not officers in the Republican organization, and whose share in elections consisted in casting an unbought ballot at the preliminary caucus and at the polls. This is admitted by his antagonists, and surely constitutes the kind of support which its object should be most glad to own, and which, as has been proved, is the one species of allegiance impossible to defeat. Mr. Blaine has been solicited at the gathering of each convention to lend his followers the strength of his presence. It is a move in which other candidates have found no impropriety, and which, in Mr. Blaine's case, would have had an especial influence. But he has steadily refused, and in the three contests in which his name has been used, aloof from the strife, has borne himself with singular modesty, calmness, and dignity.

"One element in his nature" says one who knows him, "impresses itself on my mind in a very emphatic manner, and that is his coolness and self-possession at the most exciting crises. I happened to be in his library in Washington when the balloting was going on in Cincinnati on that hot July day in 1876. A telegraph instrument was on his library table, and Mr. Sherman, his private secretary, a deft operator, was manipulating its key. Dispatches came from dozens of friends giving the last votes, which only lacked a few of a nomination, and everybody predicted the success of Blaine on the next ballot. Only four persons besides Mr. Sherman were in the room. It was a moment of great excitement. The

next vote was quietly ticked over the wire, and then the next announced the nomination of Mr. Hayes. Mr. Blaine was the only cool person in the apartment. It was such a reversal of all anticipations and assurances that self-possession was out of the question except with Mr. Blaine. He had just left his bed after two days of unconsciousness with sunstroke, but he was as self-possessed as the portraits on the wall. He merely gave a murmur of surprise, and before anybody had recovered from the surprise, he had written, in a firm, fluent hand, three dispatches—now in my possession—one to Mr. Hayes of congratulation ; one to the Maine delegates thanking them for their devotion, and another to Eugene Hale and Mr. Frye, asking them to go personally to Mr. Hayes, at Columbus, and present his good-will, with promises of hearty aid in the campaign. The occasion affected him no more than the news of a servant quitting his employ would have done. Half an hour afterward he was out with Secretary Fish in an open carriage, receiving the cheers of the thousands of people who were gathered about the telegraph bulletins."

On June 1st, at Chicago, the New Jersey and Vermont delegations declared against the unit rule, and eighteen New York delegates signed a protest against the nomination of General Grant ; twenty-nine members of the National Committee also denounced the unit rule. The chairman, Senator Cameron, refused to entertain the motions of the opposition or to permit appeal from the decision of the chair upon the question. The anti-third term majority met next day and adopted a res-

olution unseating the chairman, Mr. Cameron. At the request of Senator Conkling General Arthur made an effort to conciliate the disaffected members, and a compromise followed by which the unit rule was abandoned in forming the temporary organization.

On June 2d the convention organized, George F. Hoar, of Massachusetts, being chosen temporary chairman, and the committee voted to propose his name for permanent chairman. Mr. Conger, of Michigan, one of Mr. Blaine's supporters, was made chairman of the Committee on Credentials. General Garfield, as every one remembers, received the appointment to the chairmanship on Rules, and on the following day reported the admirable code which guided the convention. It did not include the unit rule. Little business of interest was transacted on Friday and Saturday. At the night session, Saturday, the nominations were made. When Maine was called James F. Jay, chairman of the Michigan delegation, responded, making a speech for Mr. Blaine which created an enthusiasm disproportionate to its value. His manner of delivery was unfortunate and did not command the attention of the convention, but the Blaine delegates cheered with no less hearty will at the mention of their candidate's name. Mr. Pixley, of California, seconded the nomination in a sound and pointed speech. At its close Mr. Frye, of Maine, appeared at Mr. Hoar's side, and the chairman said Mr. Frye asked unanimous consent to be allowed to speak for two minutes. It was granted, and his brief but admirably chosen words, filled with genuine

feeling, were the most telling of the day. They were interrupted by constant indications of approval.

The wearisome balloting that followed is familiar to every reader, but that it may be seen with what steadfastness Mr. Blaine's friends clung to him a tabulated statement of the thirty-six ballots is given herewith

	1st ballot.	2d ballot.	3d ballot.	4th ballot.	5th ballot.	6th ballot.	7th ballot.	8th ballot.	9th ballot.	10th ballot.	11th ballot.	12th ballot.	13th ballot.	14th ballot.	15th ballot.	16th ballot.	17th ballot.	18th ballot.
James A. Garfield...	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ulysses S. Grant....	304	305	305	305	305	305	306	308	305	305	304	305	305	309	306	303	305	303
James G. Blaine....	284	282	282	281	281	280	281	284	282	282	281	283	285	285	281	283	284	282
John Sherman.....	93	94	93	95	95	94	94	91	90	92	93	92	89	89	88	88	90	91
Elihu B. Washburne.	31	31	31	31	31	31	32	32	32	32	33	33	35	36	36	36	36	35
George F. Edmunds.	34	32	32	32	32	32	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31
William Windom....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Rutherford B. Hayes.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
George W. McCrary.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roscoe Conkling....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John F. Hartranft....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Edmund T. Davis....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
Philip H. Sheridan.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Benjamin Harrison.	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	754	755	755
Necessary to choice.	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378

	19th ballot.	20th ballot.	21st ballot.	22d ballot.	23d ballot.	24th ballot.	25th ballot.	26th ballot.	27th ballot.	28th ballot.	29th ballot.	30th ballot.	31st ballot.	32d ballot.	33d ballot.	34th ballot.	35th ballot.	36th ballot.
James A. Garfield...	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	17	250	399
Ulysses S. Grant....	305	308	305	305	304	305	302	303	306	307	305	306	308	309	309	312	313	306
James G. Blaine....	279	276	276	275	275	279	281	280	277	279	278	279	276	276	276	275	57	42
John Sherman.....	96	93	96	97	97	93	94	93	93	91	116	120	118	117	100	107	99	3
Elihu B. Washburne.	32	35	35	36	35	35	36	36	35	35	33	37	44	44	44	30	23	5
George F. Edmunds.	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	31	12	11	11	11	11	11	11	11
William Windom....	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	7	4	3	3	4	4	3	3
Rutherford B. Hayes.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
George W. McCrary.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Roscoe Conkling....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
John F. Hartranft....	1	1	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Edmund T. Davis....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Philip H. Sheridan.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Benjamin Harrison.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	755	756	756	755
Necessary to choice.	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	378	379	379	378

Those who were engaged in the effort to nominate General Grant were scarcely more faithful. On the first ballot it will be seen Mr. Blaine was the choice of 284 delegates and from this his support did not appreciably fail until the 19th ballot, when the number was 279. His vote fell only once as low as 270; until the last two ballots, with this exception, it was not less than 275.

The dogged perseverance which characterized the third term men and forbade them to assist in the nomination of another candidate, however hopeless the fortunes of their own, was not emulated by those who through 34 ballots cast their votes steadily for Mr. Blaine. When it became evident that the man of their choice could not become the nominee of the convention a wise spirit of moderation prevailed, and the vote of the Blaine delegation was cast almost entire for General Garfield. But for this act Garfield could not have been nominated. If it was a surrender, it was the kind of surrender which carries with it something of the lustre of victory.

XVI.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

GENERAL GARFIELD'S selection of Mr. Blaine for the first position in his Cabinet was not the outcome of his efforts in his cause during the campaign. Many others might have been as properly chosen on that score. It was made in recognition of his fitness for the post, and as a compliment to a trusted friend. When he visited Washington soon after the election he wrote Mr. Blaine appointing a meeting with him in that city about November 24th. The ex-Senator reached Washington November 26th. In the course of the colloquy which followed General Garfield offered him the State Department. Mr. Blaine was surprised by this honor. "I was hardly prepared for it," he told the President-elect. "I do not know how to make answer. I would like some time for reflection and consultation." General Garfield, though urging him to accept, readily granted him space for thought, and Mr. Blaine asked the advice of his intimate friends. They were inclined to think he would do best to accept the place. But Mr. Blaine did not yet decide to take the charge. He said: "If the

sentiment of the country indorses the selection General Garfield has made, I will accept the office, otherwise not." It began to be announced through the press that the offer had been made, and the tone of newspaper comment was so favorable that Mr. Blaine accepted the responsibilities of the State Department, without more hesitation. His letter of acceptance best gives the reasons which led him to make this determination :

" WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

"**M**Y DEAR GARFIELD: Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

"I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind, definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

"It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the Government.

"I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union, I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

"In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

"To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great national conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political for-

tunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

“It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter ; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your Cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend. Always faithfully yours,

“JAMES G. BLAINE.”

Mr. Blaine's season of service in his new office began with the inauguration of the President, March 5, 1881, and was completed when on December 19th of the same year he resigned the portfolio of State. In this time it was impossible to accomplish anything of importance, but the chief of his large-minded plans was near fruition when he relinquished his place in the Cabinet. Scarcely four months passed before the President was shot down. During the three months that followed he was in constant attendance upon his bedside, and when he died the short time during which he continued in office

was of little value in carrying out his designs—the friendly aid and countenance of him under whom they had been conceived being lacking. But the brevity of the time given for maturing his policy being considered it may be traced with some distinctness, and his intentions at least may be set down with confidence. That policy, in accordance with its author's character, was decided but pacific. It contemplated the conclusion of peace in South America, and looked to the prevention of future wars in both of the Americas. Its subordinate object was the cultivation of such amicable relations with the South American States as would lead to a large increase of trade with them. It was a broad and enlightened line of conduct for the United States, and the dangers which its adversaries have found lurking behind it are the discoveries of active and easily alarmed imaginations.

It was in regard to the relations with England likely to be brought about by pursuance of this policy that the prophetic fancies of these persons were exercised. The issue with that nation arose upon the proposition made by the Colombian Republic to the European Powers that they should join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the Panama Canal. Acting under the advice of his Secretary, President Garfield early in his term reminded the governments of Europe that the United States had secured exclusive rights with the country through which the canal was to be built, and that the suggested guarantee would be futile, and not without offence to the

United States. These exclusive rights made it necessary that the guarantee of this country should be secured before it was asked from abroad. This statement of the position of the Government was directly in the line of President Garfield's inaugural address, and if it was in any degree mistaken, history will show that his concern in it was quite equal to his Secretary's. He said that he repeated the expressions of his predecessor in declaring that it was "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests." The United States had in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 made provisions with Great Britain as to the Isthmus, and Mr. Blaine made formal proposal that all agreements made in it, not in harmony with the privileges and guarantee secured by the convention entered into between the United States and the Colombian Republic, be abrogated. It was Mr. Blaine's contention that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty gave England for all essential purposes the control of any interoceanic waterway which might be cut through the Panama Isthmus; for England's superior naval power would render any opposition of the United States upon the water fruitless. Having agreed not to fight in the Isthmus nor to fortify the mouths of any canal that might be built across it in the event of a contest with England, this country, urged Mr. Blaine, would be placed under a disadvantage so deci-

ded that struggle would be useless. "The treaty," he wrote, "commands this Government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the English navy."

"The logic of this paper," says an excellent authority, "was unanswerable from an American point of view. If the Monroe doctrine be anything more than a tradition, the control of the Panama Canal must not be allowed to pass out of American hands ; and since the country having the most powerful navy is the real guardian of the freedom of an interoceanic canal under any system of international guarantees, or in the absence of treaty law, the Panama Canal, as Mr. Blaine said, under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty would be surrendered, if not in form yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain."

Said Mr. Curtis in *Harper's Weekly* : "The letter is a temperate and dignified document, stating our position with blended spirit and courtesy and decision. It is capitally adapted to meet any such proposition as a joint European protectorate, had it been advanced. But whether the project was merely a tentative rumor or a design seriously entertained, the letter has sufficed to arrest it, and it is another illustration of the skill and ability with which Mr. Blaine has managed the department confided to him. He has what may be called the American instinct, an essential quality in our foreign secretary, yet restrained in its official expression by an equally American tact and good sense."

But the act by which Mr. Blaine's administration of his office will be best remembered is his invitation to the republics of South America to come together at Washington in a Peace Congress with the United States. The letter in which he made this proposition is well worth attention :

“DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
“WASHINGTON, November 29, 1881.

“SIR : The attitude of the United States with regard to the question of general peace on the American continent is well known through its persistent efforts for years past to avert the evils of warfare, or, the efforts failing, to bring positive conflicts to an end through pacific counsels, or the advocacy of impartial arbitration. This attitude has been consistently maintained, and always with such fairness as to leave no room for the imputing to our Government any motive except the humane and disinterested one of saving the kindred States on the American continent from the burdens of war. The position of the United States as the leading power of the New World might well give to its Government the claim to authoritative utterance for the purpose of quieting discord among its neighbors, with all of whom the most friendly relation exists. Nevertheless, the good offices of this Government are not, and have not, at any time, been tendered with a show of compulsion or dictation, but only as exhibiting the solicitous good-will of a common friend.

"For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is, in a large measure, looked to by all the American powers as their friend and mediator.

"The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife, or angry contentions between people whom we regard as brethren.

"The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the States of the Western hemisphere, both North and South, in the interest of humanity, and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of governments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will help to show the broadness of our common humanity, and the strength of the ties

which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American commonwealths.

"Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general congress to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object, that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries oftenest of one blood and speech; or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debt, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and orphan, of embittered resentments that long survive those who provoked them, and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

"The President is especially desirous to have it understood that in putting forth this invitation the United States does not assume the position of counselling, or attempting through the voice of the congress to counsel, any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America.

Such questions cannot properly come before the congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interest of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present. For this reason especially the President has indicated a day for the assembling of the congress so far in the future as to leave good ground for hope that by the time named the present situation on the South Pacific coast will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussion and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

"It seems also desirable to disclaim in advance any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudge the issues to be presented to the congress. It is far from the intent of this Government to appear before the congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors, or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the congress on the same footing with the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution not only in its own interest, but as a single member among many co-ordinate and co-equal States. So far as the influence of this Government may be potential, it will be exerted in the direction of conciliating whatever conflicting interests of blood or government or historical tradition may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing such vast and diverse elements.

"You will present these views to the Minister of Foreign Relations of Mexico, enlarging, if need be, in such terms as will readily occur to you, upon the great mission which it is in the power of the proposed congress to accomplish in the interest of humanity, and upon the firm purpose of the United States to maintain a position of the most absolute and impartial friendship toward all. You will thereupon tender to his Excellency the President of the Mexican Republic a formal invitation to send two commissioners to the congress, provided with such powers and instructions on behalf of their government as will enable them to consider the questions brought before that body within the limit of submission contemplated by the invitation.

"The United States, as well as the other powers, will in like manner be represented by two commissioners, so that impartiality and equality will be amply secured in the proceedings of the congress.

"In delivering this invitation through the Minister of Foreign Affairs, you will read this dispatch to him, and leave with him a copy, intimating that an answer is desired by this Government as promptly as the just consideration of so important a proposition will permit.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES G. BLAINE."

The fair-minded reader of the foregoing will hardly have found a menace in it to the public peace and well-being; but Mr. Frelinghuysen apparently did, for upon

his appointment to Mr. Blaine's place in the Cabinet he reversed his entire policy with all speed.

This remarkable action, opposed to diplomatic usage, radically lowered the standing of the United States Government with the South American States, and under the *laissez-faire* policy of Secretary Frelinghuysen, Chili made outrageous terms with her vanquished foe and took to herself so much territory as pleased her. It left Mr. Blaine in the unfortunate position of having proposed and entered upon a course of action which was so suddenly abandoned as to leave it without fair trial. He was judged by the ragged ends of his policy.

In justice to himself he addressed a letter to President Arthur, January 3, 1882, vindicating his imperfected work. It must be given here in full :

"The suggestion of a congress of all the American nations to assemble in the city of Washington was warmly approved by your predecessor. The assassination of July 2d prevented his issuing the invitations to the American States. After your accession to the Presidency, I acquainted you with the project and submitted to you a draft for such an invitation. You received the suggestion with the most appreciative consideration, and after carefully considering the form of the invitation directed it to be sent. It was accordingly dispatched in November, to the independent governments of America, North and South, including all, from the Empire of Brazil to the smallest republic. In a communication addressed by the present Secretary of State, on

January 9th, to Mr. Trescot, and recently sent to the Senate, I was greatly surprised to find a proposition looking to the annulment of these invitations, and I was still more surprised when I read the reasons assigned. If I correctly apprehend the meaning of his words it is that we might offend some European powers if we should hold in the United States a congress of the 'selected nationalities' of America.

"This is certainly a new position for the United States to assume, and one which I earnestly beg you will not permit this country to occupy. The European powers assemble in congress whenever an object appears to them of sufficient importance to justify it. I have never heard of their consulting the Government of the United States in regard to the propriety of their so assembling, nor have I ever known of their inviting an American representative to be present. Nor would there, in my judgment, be any good reason for their so doing. Two Presidents of the United States in the year 1881 adjudged it to be expedient that the American powers should meet in congress, for the sole purpose of agreeing upon some basis for arbitration of differences that may arise between them, and for the prevention, as far as possible, of war in the future. If that movement is now to be arrested for fear that it may give offence in Europe, the voluntary humiliation of this Government could not be more complete, unless we should press the European governments for the privilege of holding the congress. I cannot conceive how the

United States could be placed in a less enviable position than would be secured by sending in November a cordial invitation to all the American governments to meet in Washington for the sole purpose of concerting measures of peace, and in January recalling the invitation for fear it might create ‘jealousy and ill-will’ on the part of monarchical governments in Europe. It would be difficult to devise a more effective mode for making enemies of the American Government, and it would certainly not add to our prestige in the European world. Nor can I see, Mr. President, how European governments should feel ‘jealousy and ill-will’ toward the United States because of an effort on our own part to insure lasting peace between the nations of America, unless, indeed, it be to the interest of European powers that American nations should at intervals fall into war, and bring reproach on republican government. But from that very circumstance I see an additional and powerful motive for American governments to be at peace among themselves.

“The United States is indeed at peace with all the world, as Mr. Frelinghuysen well says, but there are and have been serious troubles between other American nations. Peru, Chili, and Bolivia have been for more than two years engaged in a desperate conflict. It was the fortunate intervention of the United States last spring that averted war between Chili and the Argentine Republic. Guatemala is at this moment asking the United States to interpose its good offices with Mexico

to keep off war. These important facts were all communicated in your last message to Congress. It is the existence or the menace of these wars that influenced President Garfield—and as I supposed influenced yourself—to desire a friendly conference of all the nations of America to devise methods of permanent peace, and consequent prosperity for all. Shall the United States now turn back, hold aloof, and refuse to exert its great moral power for the advantage of its weaker neighbors?

"If you have not formally and finally recalled the invitation to the Peace Congress, Mr. President, I beg you to consider well the effect of so doing. The invitation was not mine. It was yours. I performed only the part of the Secretary—to advise and to draft. You spoke in the name of the United States to each of the independent nations of America. To revoke that invitation for any cause would be embarrassing ; to revoke it for the avowed fear of 'jealousy and ill-will' on the part of European powers would appeal as little to American pride as to American hospitality. Those you have invited may decline, and having now cause to doubt their welcome will, perhaps, do so. This would break up the Congress, but it would not touch their dignity. Beyond the philanthropic and Christian ends to be obtained by an American conference devoted to peace and goodwill among men, we might well hope for material advantages, as the result of a better understanding and closer friendship with the nations of America. At present the condition of trade between the United States

and its American neighbors is unsatisfactory to us, and even deplorable. According to the official statistics of our own Treasury Department, the balance against us in that trade last year was \$120,000,000—a sum greater than the yearly product of all the gold and silver mines in the United States. This vast balance was paid by us in foreign exchange, and a very large proportion of it went to England, where shipments of cotton, provisions, and breadstuffs supplied the money. If anything should change or check the balance in our favor in European trade, our commercial exchanges with Spanish America would drain us of our reserve of gold at a rate exceeding \$100,000,000 per annum, and would probably precipitate a suspension of specie payment in this country. Such a result at home might be worse than a little jealousy and ill-will abroad. I do not say, Mr. President, that the holding of a Peace Congress will necessarily change the currents of trade, but it will bring us into kindly relations with all the American nations ; it will promote the reign of law and peace and order ; it will increase production and consumption, and will stimulate the demand for articles which American manufacturers can furnish with profit. It will at all events be a friendly and auspicious beginning in the direction of American influence and American trade in a large field which we have hitherto greatly neglected, and which has practically been monopolized by our commercial rivals in Europe.

“ JAMES G. BLAINE.”

In pursuance of his pacific policy, Mr. Blaine endeavored to bring about peace after the Chili-Peru war, on terms which should not be overbearing to the conquered States. Certain misunderstandings, however, caused the United States ministers to fail in carrying out the Secretary's instructions, and special envoys accredited to the three countries were despatched upon a mission of peace. Before they reached Chili, Mr. Blaine resigned, and his successor, in his hasty overturning of his policy, discredited the envoys. They arrived only to find their mission emptied of all significance, and they could only return, leaving such impressions of the constancy and good faith of the United States Government as they might.

Of Mr. Blaine's administration a manly and straightforward assertion of American rights was the distinguishing characteristic. If that is a dangerous thing we must face the danger, and no honest American should wish to shirk it. All new ideas are filled with peril. Burke had several perilous ideas; so did Pitt. Dangerous ideas occurred to Washington and Lincoln more frequently than safe ones, as the conservatives of their times looked at ideas. But how many of the precious facts which those dangerous ideas bought are we willing to lose? Senator Harrison spoke for the truest Americans when he said at a meeting gathered in Cincinnati to ratify the nomination:

“Some timid people fear that Mr. Blaine will involve the country in war. Some over-cautious business men

affect to believe that the even current of their money-getting will be disturbed by the aggressive foreign policy which they suppose he would inaugurate. My fellow-citizens, no one has ever accused Mr. Blaine of being a fool. He has some ideas upon foreign affairs and I am glad of it—they are rare. He had begun to organize them into a system when he laid down the portfolio of State. Now, what sort of a foreign policy did his despatches foreshadow? One in which this country should play the bully? One in which we shall, without cause, insult or deny just rights to any foreign government? Not at all; do we not all desire that we shall have a manly foreign policy—one that shall not be characterized by such timidity as not to lift a manly protest when any wrong is done in any foreign country to the humblest American citizen? [Applause.] What was it Mr. Blaine proposed to do? Briefly and chiefly, he proposed to call a congress for consultation as to the mutual interests of the nations of the continent; a meeting of our sister republics, not for the purpose of aggression. Far from it. It was that we might exercise our friendly offices in the interests of peace and stable government among these people, where government has been so unstable, where the existing régimes are so frequently overturned as to bring prostration and desolation to all private enterprises. It was that we might extend a kindly hand to these people, to help them on to a higher civilization, and that we might in return enjoy some of that great commerce which Great

Britain monopolizes to-day. We are living near these people ; they are striving to imitate us in the experiment of free government, and yet we are without access or influence. When a distinguished citizen of this State was by President James Garfield appointed Charge d'Affaires at Montevideo, in Uruguay, in order to get to his post of duty he had to take a British steamer from New York to Liverpool, and another British steamer from Liverpool to Montevideo. Notwithstanding we are here on the same general coast, there was no direct communication between this country and that. It has been a standing shame that our relations to these South American governments have been such that neither we nor they have enjoyed any of the benefits of good neighborhood.

"Mr. Blaine proposes to remedy this confessed omission in our foreign policy. A congress of these nations was the leading feature of his brief administration of the State Department. There was nothing to disturb business in that policy, but much promise of a new market for our surplus. Nobody wants war—it is a last resort. But every self-respecting American does believe in maintaining the proper dignity, honor, and influence of this great nation."

The ado which was made about the Landreau claim, the Credit Industriel, and the Shipherd folly, need not make part of this record. Mr. Blaine's connection with them was unimportant. In the case of Landreau, he urged a claim of undoubted justice ; the others were in-

cidents growing out of his administration which will doubtless demand treatment when the lives of certain other persons come to be written, but which are of no moment to a biography of Mr. Blaine.

XVII.

AT GARFIELD'S BEDSIDE.

MR. BLAINE'S name is peculiarly associated with the memorable crime of July 2, 1881. Upon him, during the long, sad weeks of suspense which followed, the grieved and doubtful heart of the nation reposed.

As the President and Mr. Blaine drove to the station together the President was in an uncommonly joyous mood, his companion has said. He was to visit his *alma mater*, and was looking forward to an agreeable holiday, removed from the oppressive summer heat of Washington, and the renewing of old college friendships in the Berkshire Hills. "When the carriage," says Mr. Blaine, in his account of the tragedy, "stopped in front of the station on B Street, the President and I left it and entered the ladies' waiting-room, passing through it arm in arm. As we went from it into the main room I dropped the President's arm and at that instant two shots were fired. I saw a man running and started toward him, but turned almost immediately and saw that the President had fallen. I then first understood that the shots had been

fired at the President. I sprang toward him with several others and raised his head from the floor."

As the President fell he exclaimed, "My God!" The Postmaster-General, Secretary Windom, and Secretary Lincoln, who were to accompany President Garfield, had arrived earlier and were walking within the station. When they came hastily in response to a summons into the ladies' waiting-room they found Secretary Blaine, who appeared to be the only calm person about, bending over the President and keeping the people back. Before the President was removed from the station he sent a touching message to his wife at Long Branch, where he had expected to join her later.

Secretary Blaine communicated to Vice-President Arthur, who was in New York, the news of the calamity in simple words, and during the day and until the Vice-President returned to Washington, kept him informed of the President's condition by constant bulletins. The Secretary also made known the sad intelligence to the American ministers abroad, and put them into possession from time to time of the physicians' opinions. In his position he was also the recipient of the messages of condolence and regret sent from every part of the country and by the sovereigns of Europe. It fell to him to make answer as well, and he discharged this duty with singular propriety and good taste. The telegrams were models of manly simplicity, and the nation, which hung in its suspense upon the slightest word from the bedside of the wounded Pres-

ident, received his constant bulletins gratefully. During the first day and night, with the other members of the Cabinet, he was not absent from the President's bedside, and only retired the next day for a time because the physicians thought the presence of any one prejudicial to the patient's condition.

The Fourth of July was an anxious day for the country. President Garfield seemed to grow no better, and the physicians, who from the first had given little encouragement, despaired of his recovery. Mr. Blaine telegraphed to John Hay at 5 P.M. : "The condition of the President is alarming. I think the best judgment of the eminent physicians who were in consultation is he will not recover. They do not, however, abandon hope, and we all cling to the belief that in the good providence of God his life may be spared." Later he issued the following :

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, July 4th, 11 P.M.

"To the Press:

"On behalf of the President and Mrs. Garfield I desire to make public acknowledgment of the very numerous messages of condolence and affection which have been received since Saturday morning. From almost every State in the Union, from the South as bountifully as from the North, and from countries beyond the sea, have come messages of anxious inquiry and tender words of sympathy in such numbers that it has been found impossible to answer them in detail. I therefore ask the newspapers to express for the President and

Mrs. Garfield the deep gratitude which they feel for the devotion of their fellow-countrymen and friends abroad, in their hour of heavy affliction.

"JAMES G. BLAINE,

"Secretary of State."

On the following day he was able to cable James Russell Lowell, Minister to England, "The President continues to improve. At this hour, 4 P.M., his physicians consider his symptoms as most encouraging."

The President after this grew slowly better, and the Secretary was in constant attendance upon him. Through all the fluctuations of hope and fear, he kept unintermittent watch, recording the changes in the President's condition in frequent bulletins. When it was decided to attempt the removal to Long Branch, he smoothed the way as much as possible and assisted in planning and carrying out the kindly devices for the patient's easy and painless transit. On September 6th the journey was safely made. Secretary Blaine's telegram to Minister Lowell upon the arrival of the President at Long Branch concluded: "His fever is in part attributed to the excitement he felt at the prospect of coming. He earnestly desired to leave the White House, and his weary eyes welcomed the sight of the sea. The developments of the next sixty hours are awaited with solicitude." The President did not immediately grow worse, but the weather was very warm and he suffered from it. On the 9th, however, Mr. Blaine was able to say that

"his comfort had been promoted by a decided change in the weather." But on the 12th he telegraphed: "His symptoms are not reassuring, and his general condition gives rise to anxiety." During the next day, however, there was a change for the better, and Mr. Blaine was so much encouraged that he felt warranted in leaving the President for a day or two to attend to important personal business in Augusta. "During my absence for a short time," he cabled Minister Lowell, "Dr. Agnew or Dr. Hamilton will send you a daily report." It was instead sent by Secretary MacVeagh.

For several days after Mr. Blaine's departure there was little change in the President's condition, and he seemed to be gradually gaining ground, but on the 16th anxiety was again excited. On the 17th he had a slight chill, lasting half an hour. Another chill on the following day increased the general concern, and September 19th, at half past ten in the evening, he suddenly and unexpectedly passed away.

Secretary Blaine, being informed of the sad fact, made haste toward Elberon, reaching it on the following day. The Cabinet agreed upon the arrangements for the funeral, which were made public in detail by the Secretary of State.

All the members of the Cabinet went with the body to Washington, where for a time it lay in state, and accompanied it to Lakewood Cemetery, Cleveland, where it was finally deposited. When Congress met after the President's death it cast about for a fit man to deliver

a eulogy of General Garfield, and its choice naturally fell to Mr. Blaine. It has been called one of the noblest performances of his life, and certainly he never spoke to so lofty and inspiring a theme. The orator was fortunately selected. He had known General Garfield for many years, he was familiar with his public and private life, in his administration he had been at the head, and in the public acts of the President his next friend and adviser. During his illness he had watched over him with an assiduity that outwent mere official duty. He was filled with love and admiration for him, even above those who from every corner of the country were present in spirit at the solemn memorial services in which the nation expressed its grief. He spoke for their sorrowing hearts, and in that hour was nearer to them than any save the leader they had lost. It was indeed the highest moment of Mr. Blaine's life ; and if he had done nothing else, if he had not been the faithful supporter of the wounded President during his illness—if he had come into the world and gone from it leaving nothing but the record of those few adequate words in praise of his friend, he could never cease to be a dear and memorable figure to Americans.

"At ten o'clock on Monday, February 27, 1882, the doors of the House of Representatives were opened to holders of tickets for the memorial services, and in less than half an hour the galleries were filled. The spectators, many of whom were ladies, were generally attired in black. No mourning was displayed in the hall, even

the full-length portrait of the late President being undraped. The three front rows of desks had been replaced by chairs for the use of the invited guests, and the Marine Band was stationed in the lobby, back of the Speaker's desk.

"Among the first to arrive were George Bancroft, W. W. Corcoran, Cyrus W. Field, and Admiral Worden, who took seats directly in front of the Clerk's desk. General Schenck, Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, Foster, of Ohio, Porter, of Indiana, Hamilton, of Maryland, and Bigelow, of Connecticut, and Adjutant-General Hawley, of Connecticut, and many others occupied seats on the floor. At 11.30 Generals Sherman, Sheridan, Hancock, Howard, and Meigs, and Admirals Ammen and Rodgers entered at the north door of the chamber and were assigned seats to the left of the Speaker's desk, and a few moments later the members of the diplomatic corps, in full regalia, were ushered in, headed by the Hawaiian Minister as dean of the corps. The Supreme Court of the District, headed by Marshal Henry, arrived next. Mrs. Blaine occupied a front seat in the gallery reserved for friends of the President. At twelve o'clock the House was called to order by Speaker Keifer, and prayer was offered by the chaplain. The Speaker then announced that the House was assembled and ready to perform its part in the memorial services, and the resolutions to that effect were read by Clerk McPherson. At 12.10 the Senate was announced, and that body, headed by its officers,

entered and took seats. The Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, in their robes of office, came next, and were followed by President Arthur and his Cabinet. The President took the front seat on the right of the presiding officer's chair, next to that occupied by Cyrus W. Field."

Senator Sherman and Representative McKinley (Ohio) occupied seats at the desk on the right and left of the orator of the day. Members of the Society of the Army of the Cumberland acted as ushers at the main entrance to the Rotunda and in the various corridors leading to the galleries.

At 12.30 the orator of the day was announced, and after a short prayer by the Chaplain of the House, F. F. Power, President Davis said : "This day is dedicated by Congress for memorial services of the late President of the United States, James A. Garfield. I present to you the Hon. James G. Blaine, who has been fitly chosen as the orator for this historical occasion."

Mr. Blaine then rose, and standing at the clerk's desk, immediately in front of the two presiding officers, delivered his eulogy from manuscript.

He was the central figure in one of the most striking scenes which has been observed in the halls of Congress since its first session. The President and his Cabinet, the judges in their robes, the distinguished guests, the diplomatic corps attired in their varied dress, offered a spectacle as brilliant as one is likely to see in a republic. The admirable eulogy it is impossible,

within the brief space of this volume, to give at length, and such selections from it as follow are chosen as much for their bearing upon the speaker as his subject. After discussing Garfield's ancestry, his early days, his army career, and his long and loyal service in Congress, he spoke of his industry ; and his words upon this trait of General Garfield must engage us. He said :

“ Those unfamiliar with Garfield’s industry and ignorant of the details of his work may, in some degree, measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of the *Congressional Record* they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the National Government has ever passed. When the history of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of the public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanship, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of

clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defence of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures, yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime, and by the aid of his own efforts."

The words which follow have a touch of unconscious prophecy which need not to be urged :

"As a candidate, Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign :

No might nor greatness in mortality
Can censure 'scape. Back-wounding calumny
The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
Can tie the gall up in a slanderous tongue ?

Under it all he was calm, and strong, and confident ; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation.

tions—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed, and, with the general *débris* of the campaign, fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul, and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven."

The eulogy occupied an hour and a half. As Mr. Blaine uttered the last solemn words picturing the death of the martyred President, "Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning," his hearers broke into a storm of applause which was not stilled for some moments. The address had been listened to with the most eager interest and in awed silence.

XVIII.

"TWENTY YEARS OF CONGRESS."

WHEN Mr. Blaine laid down the portfolio of the Secretary of State, some curiosity was felt as to what he would do. For over twenty-three years he had been in public life, and it was thought that, for a time at least, vacancy and idleness must overtake him. But Mr. Blaine welcomed this period of leisure as an opportunity for carrying out a plan long cherished in a mild way. Continuing to live in Washington, he began at once the composition of a work which he has called "Twenty Years of Congress." He devoted himself assiduously to writing, and was able, after little more than two years' labor, to present to the public in April last a thick volume as an earnest of his intention.

When complete it is to be a history of the political life of the American people for the years included between the administrations of Lincoln and Garfield—the first ten of which certainly offer a richer field to the American historian than any other decade save that of the Revolution. But, strictly, Mr. Blaine's work, per-

haps, should not be called a history ; that is an ambitious title, and may be held to imply a little greater distance from the subject than the writer of "Twenty Years of Congress" is at. Yet it is not a volume of mere reminiscence. It is a large and stirring record of events with which he was actively contemporary, and it is especially interesting to read of them in the pages of one who assisted in bringing them about. The sense of this the peruser of the first instalment of "Twenty Years of Congress" is glad to find always present to him, and this is because Mr. Blaine is clearly himself haunted by the *paris fuit*. This gives the book a peculiar value, if it deprives it of a certain judicial tone. That is something only to be cultivated successfully centuries after the fact ; but on the side of vividness, of complete apprehension, the book is in the highest degree satisfying, and leaves the reader much obliged to it for not being history, since it brings him so much nearer the event. On the other hand, it is not unpleasantly partisan, and often rather astonishes one, as in the matter of the presentation of the tariff question, by its fairness.

The story of the war for the Union will always be a difficult one to tell fairly, and no one in our time—certainly no one who was an actor in it—writing to those who fought it, or waited at home for those who did, is likely to tell it with complete justice. But curiously enough one is glad of the lack of this. We are not far enough from the war yet to read patiently any account which does not espouse one of the sides, and no reader

of Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress" would have him less of a loyalist if he could. It is the story of those dark four years which is related in this first volume—brought down only to the close of the conflict—and in reading the graphic pages describing them it is impossible not to be freshly impressed with the tremendous bearing of the facts touched upon. The book is particularly full in its relation of the events which brought about the war. They are set compactly before the reader, and make such a distinct and comprehensible record in Mr. Blaine's presentation as we can fancy the children of to-day congratulating themselves upon when their time comes to understand the momentous forces which tore the country in the years directly preceding 1860. The events which make up Mr. Blaine's striking narrative are skilfully marshalled and arranged, and the effect is one of singular directness and lucidity.

The style of the work is perhaps rather more terse and contained than would be expected from one who has been forced to cultivate the fluency of extemporaneous public speech, and though it would still be no worse for a little castigation, it is in the main an admirable style for the purpose. Mr. Blaine is served by the valuable early training of newspaper work, which teaches a writer many things, but chiefly instructs him in a wise solicitude for his readers' patience. The habit of concise and direct statement learned in that excellent school gives Mr. Blaine the inestimably precious sense of what may be called the time to stop, which there be eminent

men who lack. He makes his point squarely and enforces it fully, but he does not enforce it too far ; the finger is laid upon the spring with a firm touch, is held a moment, and at the delicate instant, which is neither too soon nor too late, is withdrawn. This modest quality of style, which is neither brilliant nor engaging, and takes no eye because the essence of its being is retirement, makes, above all its imposing sister qualities, easy reading. And this is the praise which comes most readily to one's pen in writing of Mr. Blaine's book. An amiable critic finds it as pleasant reading as a novel, but that is a doubtful expression of the fact unless we add, a good novel. The style of the volume is, however, something more than easy to read. It can be stately upon occasion. But the occasions are sparingly chosen, and in the midst of its fluency it seldom fails of a kind of dignity.

It is in Chapters I. to VIII. that the causes which led to the Civil War are treated, and this is one of the most valuable parts of the volume. Chapter IX. gives the history of the tariff in this country from the earliest years, and copious quotation has been already made from it. Chapter X., opening with the election of 1860, gives a brief summary of the events which followed. Chapters XVIII. and XIX. present an admirable sketch of the financial acts made necessary by the war, especially the issue of paper money and the laying of taxes. The United States banks and the State banks of the time preceding the war are treated, and the story of the creation

of the National Banking system is fully told. A chapter is devoted to the admission of West Virginia, and the final chapter contains an adequate statement of the relations of foreign governments to the United States during the war.

In the course of the volume, Mr. Blaine has often to present pictures of men prominent in national politics within comparatively recent years. From certain of his estimates there must be many dissenters, but on the whole, they are conceived in a fairly impartial spirit, and are in the best taste. These few sentences upon Lincoln will be thought just :

"Mr. Lincoln united firmness and gentleness in a singular degree. He rarely spoke a harsh word. Ready to hear argument and always open to conviction, he adhered tenaciously to the conclusions which he had finally reached. Altogether modest, he had confidence in himself, trusted to the reasoning of his own mind, believed in the correctness of his own judgment. Many of the popular conceptions concerning him are erroneous. No man was further than he from the easy, familiar, jocose character in which he is often painted. While he paid little attention to form or ceremony, he was not a man with whom liberties could be taken. There was but one person in Illinois outside of his own household who ventured to address him by his first name. There was no one in Washington who ever attempted it. Appreciating wit and humor, he relished a good story, especially if it illustrated a truth or strengthened an argu-

ment, and he had a vast fund of illustrative anecdote which he used with the happiest effect. But the long list of vulgar, salacious stories attributed to him were retailed only by those who never enjoyed the privilege of exchanging a word with him. His life was altogether a serious one—inspired by the noblest spirit, devoted to the highest aims. Humor was but an incident with him, a partial relief to the melancholy which tinged all his years.

“He presented an extraordinary combination of mental and moral qualities. As a statesman he had the loftiest ideal, and it fell to his lot to inaugurate measures which changed the fate of millions of living men, of tens of millions yet to be born. As a manager of political issues, and master of the art of presenting them, he has had no rival in this country unless one be found in Jefferson. The complete discomfiture of his most formidable assailants in 1863, especially of those who sought to prejudice him before the people on account of the arrest of Vallandigham, cannot easily be paralleled for shrewdness of treatment and for keen appreciation of the reactionary influences which are certain to control public opinion. Mr. Van Buren stands without rival in the use of partisan tactics. He operated altogether on men, and believed in self-interest as the main spring of human action. Mr. Lincoln’s ability was of a far higher and broader character. There was never the slightest lack of candor or fairness in his methods. He sought to control men through their reason and their

conscience. The only art he employed was that of presenting his views so convincingly as to force conviction on the minds of his hearer and his readers. . . ."

The volume has been extremely well received, both in the United States and in England, and the publication of its successor, upon which Mr. Blaine is reported to be now engaged, will be looked forward to with interest.

XIX.

THE NOMINATION.

THE story of the convention of 1884 is fresh in all minds ; but for the completeness of this history it is proper to set it briefly down here. The calumny which had assailed Mr. Blaine before the meeting of the conventions of 1876 and 1880, was not wanting as a precursor of this ; but it had become rather stale, and was taken up spiritlessly by all but one or two newspapers. He had twice nearly attained the nomination in spite of it ; this time he was nominated in spite of it. The best answer that could be given to it, save one, was given when 541 Republicans, chosen as representatives of their party, pronounced for him as the party standard-bearer. No answer but his election could be more complete.

The usual time was consumed in organizing the convention, although there were no such differences to adjust as in 1880. The Mahone delegates were admitted from Virginia, and Powell Clayton, the Blaine nominee for temporary chairman, was defeated by the combination of the supporters of the President and Senator Ed-

munds. A colored man from Mississippi, named Lynch, was seated through their efforts. The permanent chairman reported by the committee was General John B. Henderson.

The nominating speeches were made on Friday, June 5th. Augustus Brandagee, of Connecticut, nominated General Hawley; Senator Cullom, of Illinois, named General Logan; Martin I. Townsend, of New York, Arthur; Judge Foraker, of Ohio, Senator Sherman; and ex-Governor Long, of Massachusetts, the name of Senator Edmunds. The speech in which Judge West, of Ohio, nominated Mr. Blaine was a most fortunate and brilliant presentation of the history and character of the man who became the nominee of the convention.

"When 'Maine' was spoken by the deep-voiced secretary," says a newspaper account, "there was a sudden explosion, and in a twinkling the convention was a scene of the wildest enthusiasm and excitement. Whole delegations mounted their chairs and led the cheering, which instantly spread to the stage and galleries and deepened into a roar fully as deep and deafening as the voice of Niagara. The scene was indescribable. The air quivered, the gas lights trembled, and the walls fairly shook; the flags were stripped from the gallery and stage and frantically waved, while hats, umbrellas, handkerchiefs, and other personal belongings were tossed to and fro like bubbles over the great dancing sea of human heads. For a quarter of an hour the tumult lasted, and it only ceased when people had exhausted themselves."

As Judge West stepped to the front of the platform, says the same record, the sensation was intense, and the interest in Mr. West on account of his commanding presence, and sympathy for his infirmity—he is blind—brought all to silence throughout the vast hall. Judge West said :

“ As a delegate in the Chicago Convention of 1860, the proudest service of my life was performed by voting for the nomination of that inspired emancipator, the first Republican President of the United States. [Applause.] Four and twenty years of the grandest history of recorded times has distinguished the ascendancy of the Republican party. The skies have lowered and reverses have threatened, but our flag is still there, waving above the mansion of the Presidency, not a stain on its folds, not a cloud on its glory. Whether it shall maintain that grand ascendancy depends upon the action of this council. With bated breath a nation awaits the result. On it are fixed the eyes of twenty millions of Republican freemen in the North. On it, or to it, rather, are stretched forth the imploring hands of ten millions of political bondmen of the South [applause], while above, from the portals of light, is looking down the immortal spirit of the immortal martyr who first bore it to victory, bidding to us Hail and God-speed. [Applause.] Six times in six campaigns has that banner triumphed—that symbol of union, freedom, humanity, and progress—some time borne by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms [wild applause], last by

him at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. [Cheers and applause.] Shall that banner triumph again?

"Commit it to the bearing of that chief [a voice, 'James G. Blaine, of Maine'—cheers]—commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and rekindle the fervor of the veterans, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. [Cheers.] Political conditions are changed since the accession of the Republican party to power. The mighty issues of freedom and bleeding humanity which convulsed the continent and aroused the Republic, rallied, united, and inspired the forces of patriotism and the forces of humanity in one consolidated phalanx, have ceased their contentions. The subordinate issues resulting therefrom are settled and buried away with the dead issues of the past. The arms of the Solid South are against us. Not an electoral gain can be expected from that section. If triumph come, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, and the loom, from the mines, the workshop, and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions if triumph come.

"Does not sound political wisdom dictate and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funereal marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero, whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers, as they sweep on and onward to certain victory. [Cheers.] A representative of American manhood [applause], a representative of that living Republicanism that demands the amplest industrial protection and opportunity whereby labor shall be enabled to earn and eat the bread of independent employment, relieved of mendicant competition with pauper Europe or pagan China? [Loud applause.] In this contention of forces, to whose candidate shall be entrusted our battle-flag? Citizens, I am not here to do it, and may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I do abate one tittle from the just fame, integrity, and public honor of Chester A. Arthur, our President. [Applause.] I abate not one tittle from the just fame and public integrity of George F. Edmunds [applause], of Joseph R. Hawley [applause], of John Sherman [applause], of that grand old black eagle of Illinois. [Here the speaker was interrupted several moments by prolonged applause.] And I am proud to know that these distinguished Senators whom I have named have borne like testimony to the public life, the public character, and the public integrity of him whose confirmation brought him to the highest office—second in dignity to the office of the President

only himself—the first premiership in the administration of James A. Garfield. [Applause.] A man for whom the Senators and rivals will vote, the Secretary of State of the United States is good enough for a plain flesh and blood God's people to vote for for President. [Loud applause.]

“Who shall be our candidate? Not the representative of a particular interest of a particular class. Send the great proclamation to the country labelled ‘The Doctor’s Candidate,’ ‘The Lawyer’s Candidate,’ ‘The Wall Street Candidate,’ and the hand of resurrection would not fathom his November grave. [Applause.]

“Gentlemen, he must be a representative of that Republicanism that demands the absolute political, as well as personal, emancipation and enfranchisement of mankind—a representative of that Republicanism which recognizes the stamp of American citizenship as the passport to every right, privilege, and consideration at home or abroad, whether under the sky of Bismarck, under the Palmetto, under the Pelican, or on the banks of the Mohawk—that Republicanism that regards with dissatisfaction a despotism which, under the ‘sic semper tyrannis’ of the Old Dominion, emulates, by slaughter, popular majorities in the name of Democracy—a Republicanism as embodied and stated in the platform of principles this day adopted by your convention.

“Gentlemen, such a representative Republican is James G. Blaine, of Maine. [Applause, continuing twenty minutes.] If nominated to-night his campaign

would commence to-morrow and continue until victory is assured. [Cheers.] There would be no powder burned to fire into the backs of his leaders. It would only be exploded to illuminate the inauguration. The brazen throats of the cannon in yonder square, waiting to herald the result of the convention, would not have time to cool before his name would be caught up on ten thousand tongues of electric flame. It would sweep down from the old Pine Tree State. It would go over the hills and valleys of New England.

“Three millions of Republicans believe that that man who, from the baptism of blood on the plains of Kansas to the fall of the immortal Garfield, in all that struggle of humanity and progress, wherever humanity desired succor, wherever love for freedom called for protection, wherever the country called for a defender, wherever blows fell thickest and fastest, there in the forefront of the battle were seen to wave the white plumes of James G. Blaine, our Henry of Navarre. Nominate him, and the shouts of a September victory in Maine will be re-echoed back by the thunders of the October victory in Ohio. Nominate him, and the camp-fires and beacon lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra’s needle. Nominate him, and the millions who are now in waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.

“If you do so, he will give you a glorious victory in November next, and when he shall have taken his position as President of the great Republic, you may be

sure you will have an administration in the interest of commerce, in the interest of labor, in the interest of finance, in the interest of peace at home and peace abroad, and in the interest of the prosperity of this great people." [Long applause.]

The nomination was seconded by ex-Governor C. K. Davis, Colonel W. C. Goodloe, of Kentucky, ex-Senator Platt, and ex-Speaker Grow, of Pennsylvania. Their speeches, which were generally extremely happy, were received with vociferous applause.

The organization was controlled by the opponents of Mr. Blaine, but from the time the nominations were made the Blaine men carried everything before them. The campaign for him in the convention was well planned and brilliantly executed. An instance of the sagacity with which the forces for the ex-Senator were managed may be touched upon. Mr. Blaine's supporters, aware that the Arthur, Edmunds, and Sherman men had agreed to compel an adjournment on the night of June 5th, after taking a single ballot, thus forcing an exhibition of strength and giving a night for opposing combinations, assisted in carrying out this intention. The adjournment which they secured was, however, taken before, instead of after a ballot, and when the convention met afresh the next morning it was more difficult to gain an adjournment in the anti-Blaine interest. The delegates were not exhausted as on the previous night. They had begun the actual work of the convention and had the day before them. It was

attempted after the first and after the third ballot without success. On the night before it would, doubtless, have had an easy success if it had not been for the *coup* of the Blaine men.

On the morning of June 6th the doors of the Exposition Hall were thrown open at 10 o'clock, and, as at each session of the convention a struggling crowd waited for admission. When it was at length seated, and the delegates had found their places, Chairman Henderson, looking down over the portrait of Garfield, set in a panel of his desk, called the convention to order. "The galleries," says an account, "groaned with the weight of human beings. The delegates looked weary and exhausted. The feverish fire in the eyes of the Arthur, Blaine, and Edmunds leaders told the story of a night of anxiety." Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. Henry M. Scudder, and then the chairman ordered the clerk to call the roll on the first ballot for a Presidential candidate.

"Alabama," shouted the clerk. The State gave 17 votes for Arthur, 1 for Blaine, and 1 for Logan, the chairman of the delegation announcing the illness of one of the delegates. Arkansas followed, giving Arthur 4, Blaine 8, and Edmunds 2. California, the next on the list, cast her vote solidly for Blaine, and was rewarded by vociferous cheers from Mr. Blaine's friends. Georgia gave her entire vote to Arthur, and Illinois gave most of hers to Logan. When Indiana gave Blaine 18, and Iowa gave him 26, there were loud

cheers. Maine followed with a full response for Blaine. All eyes observed George William Curtis as he arose from his seat among the New York delegates and announced the vote of the State : Arthur, 31, Blaine, 28, Edmunds, 12. Ohio gave Sherman 25, and Blaine 21, and Pennsylvania added 47 to the Blaine column, with 11 for Arthur, 1 for Edmunds, and 1 for Logan. West Virginia was unanimously for Blaine. The ballot stood, Blaine 334½, Arthur 278, Edmunds 93, Logan 63½, John Sherman 30, Hawley 13, Lincoln 4, William T. Sherman 2. The result was greeted by the Blaine men with enthusiasm.

The ballot showed that the Arthur and Edmunds men could not control the convention without aid from the minor candidates, and delegates in their interest went about endeavoring to secure an adjournment. They were unsuccessful, and the second ballot was begun. The first ballot should be in the possession of the reader in detail for a full understanding of what followed.

When Alabama was called again she showed a gain of one for Blaine. Arkansas made its 8 votes for him 11, and with this good beginning the ballot went on until at the end 349 votes were recorded for Blaine. It was the last vote announced and "as it dropped from the clerk's lips," says a newspaper report, "the cheers that arose were deafening. As they cheered the Blaine men got up all over the floor, yelled and cheered and whistled in the galleries, and waved their

THE FIRST BALLOT.

STATES.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	J. Sherman	Hawley.	Lincoln.	W. T. Sherman.	Number of Delegates.
Alabama.....	1	17		1					20
Arkansas.....	8	4							14
California.....	16	..	2						16
Colorado.....	6	..							6
Connecticut.....	..	..							12
Delaware.....	5	1							6
Florida.....	1	7							8
Georgia.....	..	24							24
Illinois.....	3	1		40					44
Indiana.....	18	9	1	..	2				30
Iowa.....	26	..		..					26
Kansas.....	12	4		1			1		18
Kentucky.....	5½	16		2½	1				26
Louisiana.....	2	10		3					16
Maine.....	12	..							12
Maryland.....	10	6							16
Massachusetts.....	1	2	25						28
Michigan.....	15	2	7					2	26
Minnesota.....	7	1	6						14
Mississippi.....	1	17							18
Missouri.....	5	10	6	10	1				32
Nebraska.....	8	2							10
Nevada.....	6	..							6
New Hampshire.....	..	4	4						8
New Jersey.....	9	..	6						18
New York.....	28	31	12						72
North Carolina.....	2	19			1				22
Ohio.....	21	..			25				46
Oregon.....	6	..							6
Pennsylvania.....	47	11	1	1					60
Rhode Island.....	..	..	8						8
South Carolina.....	1	17							18
Tennessee.....	7	16			1				24
Texas.....	13	11		2					26
Vermont.....	..	..	8						8
Virginia.....	2	21		1					24
West Virginia.....	12	..							12
Wisconsin.....	10	6	6						22
TERRITORIES.									
Arizona.....	2	..							2
Dakota.....	2	..							2
Idaho.....	..	2							2
Montana.....	1	..	1						2
New Mexico.....	..	2							2
Utah.....	..	2							2
Washington.....	2	..							2
Wyoming.....	..	2							2
District of Columbia.....	1	1	..						2
Totals.....	334½	278	93	63½	30	13	4	2	820

Total, 818. Necessary to a choice, 411. One vote from Alabama and one from Louisiana missing.

hats, handkerchiefs, and umbrellas. It took the crowd fully ten minutes to get over their rejoicing. The chairman looked through his glasses at the throng before him, but did not strike a blow with his gavel."

At length the crowd became silent enough to hear General Henderson's "Call the roll," and the third ballot was begun as the rejoicing echoes died away. Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, and Illinois repeated their vote on the second ballot. The Arthur men shouted when a vote before given to Edmunds ranged itself in their column, and did not shout when Arthur's vote in Kansas went to Blaine entire. In Kentucky another Arthur man deserted to Blaine, and until Michigan was reached there was no further change. Then when two Edmunds men from that State came over to Blaine the Blaine men applauded as if they had never applauded before. Arthur gained a Minnesota vote and some rejoicing followed; then he gained another in Missouri, but Blaine gained four and followed with the solid vote of Nebraska. New Jersey, which had hitherto cast no vote for Arthur, gave him one and at the same time made Blaine's 9 votes 17. North Carolina gave Blaine another vote, Ohio two, and Pennsylvania three. The excitement among the Blaine delegation increased and every gain was greeted with tumultuous cheers. South Carolina and Texas each gave Blaine one; so did Virginia. The convention eagerly awaited the announcement of the ballot. The clerks made up the result

in the midst of an anxious buzz. Blaine had gained 26 votes and Arthur had lost 2. The votes which failed from Logan and Edmunds came to Blaine. It looked as if Mr. Blaine were on the road to success. The delegates had commonly kept a "tally" of their own during this ballot, but no one was certain of the result, and when the clerk read: Blaine 375, Arthur 274, Edmunds 69, Logan 53, John Sherman 25, Hawley 13, Lincoln 8, W. T. Sherman 2, a cheer went up that seemed to shake the building.

The opponents of Blaine saw that if he was to be defeated the remedy must be stringent, and Judge Foraker, of Ohio, in command of the Sherman forces, jumping to his feet, moved a recess until half-past seven o'clock. There were loud shouts of "No! no!" The uproar became deafening. Mr. Stewart, of Pennsylvania, shouted for a fourth ballot. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was held upon the back of a chair while he cried for recognition, and Judge Foraker meanwhile kept the floor, demanding that his motion be put. Chairman Henderson finally submitted it and declared it lost, but the ayes and noes were immediately demanded. The clerk notwithstanding repeatedly called Alabama, as a beginning of the fourth ballot, but Alabama, though not silent, did not answer. The entire convention was in an uproar, and twenty members were by this time on their feet calling aloud for the ayes and noes. The chairman at length acceded to their vociferous request, and the clerk called the roll for the vote on the motion to ad-

journ. It resulted: yeas 364, nays 450. No doubt could remain after this of the nomination of Mr. Blaine, and again the delegates in his interest set the air vibrating with their shouts. In the midst of the tumult Judge Foraker moved that the rules be suspended in order that the nomination of James G. Blaine might be made by acclamation, but the opposition to this was too strong, and he withdrew his motion.

The fourth ballot proceeded in wild confusion. Six of the Alabama delegates went to Blaine immediately. Florida helped him. When Illinois was reached it was apparent that very few more votes would be needed to nominate Blaine, and Senator Cullom transferred 34 Logan votes to him in the midst of tremendous excitement. Louisiana gave him 9 votes. When Ohio was called Judge Foraker made a brief speech, in which he stated that he had supported John Sherman from the first, but that Ohio now cast 46 votes for James G. Blaine. This placed his nomination beyond doubt. His friends could scarcely wait for the completion of the ballot and announcement of the foregone conclusion to burst in cheers, before which all that had gone before was mild and decorous. The band played and they drowned its music. In a moment the sound of the rejoicing boom of cannon came through the open windows. Flags and handkerchiefs were waved; men stood upon their seats and shouted themselves hoarse. Ten thousand voices joined in a triumphant huzza. In two earnest contests Mr. Blaine's friends had suffered

defeat and borne it patiently. This rich and overwhelming victory was a great joy and a full reward.

Following is a summary of the ballots :

CANDIDATES.	1st ballot.	2d ballot.	3d ballot.	4th ballot.
James G. Blaine.....	334½	349	375	541
Chester A. Arthur.....	278	276	274	207
George F. Edmunds.....	93	85	69	41
John A. Logan.....	63½	61	53	7
John Sherman.....	30	28	25	...
Joseph R. Hawley.....	13	13	13	15
Robert E. Lincoln.....	4	4	8	2
William T. Sherman.....	2	2	2	...
Total vote.....	818	818	819	813
Necessary to a choice... .	410	410	410	407

The glad shouts had not subsided when Congressman Burleigh, in behalf of the President's supporters, moved to make the nomination unanimous. Senators Sabin and Plumb heartily seconded the motion, and the Chair put it :

"Those who are in favor of making the nomination of James G. Blaine unanimous will say 'aye.'"

"Aye!" cried the delegates and galleries in concert.

"Those who are opposed will say 'no.'"

The hall was silent.

XX.

RECEPTION OF THE NOMINATION.

IT was graceful and appropriate that the first person to congratulate Mr. Blaine on his success should be his rival, President Arthur, who sent to him in Augusta the following telegram, read in the convention :

To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Me.:

As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

The President's supporters, not only in the convention, but wherever found, had no sullen grudge to satisfy because of the failure of their candidate. Including the members of his Cabinet, they accepted it with expressions of disappointment indeed, but with the best goodwill.

The news of the nomination aroused unusual enthusiasm throughout the country. Early in the evening fires were alight, bands parading, and guns firing in every Republican district. The name was received with especial satisfaction throughout the West, and California

rent itself to do honor to the nomination. New York's voice was not uncertain, and on the morning following the adjournment of the convention the general pleasure at the convention's choice was recorded in press telegrams from the remotest villages describing the form which their rejoicings had taken. In New York, Boston, Washington, and all the larger cities crowds hung about the bulletins, and the intelligence of the nomination was received with the most genuine and spontaneous liking.

It was at Mr. Blaine's home, however, where he is known not only as a great public figure, but as a man, that the greatest joy was shown. "The newspaper and telegraph offices," says the *Augusta Herald*, "were besieged by a surging mass of humanity. But it was not until Mr. Blaine's nomination was displayed that the excitement reached its highest pitch; then everybody seemed almost beside himself. Men embraced each other and jumped about for joy. The strongest lungs were strained."

A correspondent writing from the scene says:

"When the news of the nomination reached Augusta a perfect wave of enthusiasm rolled over the city. The streets were thronged with excited men, who, almost frenzied with delight, shouted until they were hoarse. They threw up their hats, wrestled with each other, and cut up all manner of capers. A flag was run up on Water street, inscribed 'Our Next President, James G. Blaine.' The banner was received with loud shouts and

cheers. Bells were rung and cannon fired. Ten minutes after the nomination a large body of school children came down Oak Street, and added their voices to the din. The shouts and hurrahs could be heard all over the city until far into the night.

"Intense interest was manifested by the people all day in the proceedings of the convention. Early in the day all business was practically suspended, and Mr. Blaine's chances became the chief topic of conversation. The first despatch of the day, from Postmaster Manly, announcing that no combinations had been formed during the night opposed to Mr. Blaine, created a buoyant feeling. Each bulletin thereafter attracted an increased crowd of readers, and the result of the first ballot was eagerly awaited, the crowd blocking the street in front of the bulletin board and overrunning the telegraph office. The announcement that Mr. Blaine was 54 votes ahead of any of his competitors at the close of the first ballot created considerable speculation, but little enthusiasm. The crowd waited with intense interest to see what changes would occur in the succeeding ballot. The gain for Blaine and the weakening of Arthur and Edmunds were received with demonstrations of satisfaction. When the announcement came that there was a still larger gain for Blaine on the third ballot, it was with difficulty that the pent-up excitement could be restrained, and preparations were begun to celebrate Blaine's nomination. Ropes were thrown across the streets, and flags inscribed 'Our next President, J. G.

Blaine,' were made ready to fling to the breeze as soon as the telegraph should click what appeared to be the inevitable result of the balloting. At 4.32 a cheer from the telegraph office announced a victory, and then began an old-fashioned Fourth of July celebration. Old and young, Republicans and Democrats, all joined in the demonstration."

Mr. Blaine arrived in Augusta from Washington on Tuesday of the week of the nomination, and spent the stormy days of the convention quietly in his library, at work upon the second volume of "Twenty Years in Congress." His bearing during this time was not less modest and uneager than on the occasion of the two former conventions. A journal already quoted, speaking of his simple carriage, adds:

"He has seemingly been as unconcerned at what was going on in Chicago as he would be had he not been a candidate for Presidential honor. His mind was so estranged or diverted from politics and political conventions, that a pair of horses which had been offered him for sale seemed to give him a more congenial and interesting topic of conversation. Perhaps, also, as a contradiction to certain reports telegraphed from Augusta, it is proper to say that there has been no private wire running into his house, nor has he been in telegraphic communication with his friends, as has been reported; nor has he given any interviews to newspapers, as has been alleged. During the visits made him, mostly by his immediate neighbors, he has studiously refrained

from any expression of opinion concerning his candidacy, nor has he commented on the proceedings of the convention. He has obtained his information of the doings of the convention from the daily newspapers."

As the bulletins were handed him he sat upon his lawn in the midst of his family and read them in the methodical manner usual with him. From time to time he rose from his seat and paced the lawn, exhibiting less anxiety than he has often shown when receiving the election returns from his own State and reckoning the result. When the news of the nomination was received "he maintained the same composure. There was only a slight dilatation of his big, lustrous eyes, which showed how deeply he felt and appreciated the great honor conferred upon him. A few minutes later he betrayed a slight emotion as he casually remarked that he owed much to the devoted men who had stood by him for so many years.

"In speaking of the result, he said that he felt all the more gratified, because it was an honor that had come to him unsolicited. He had not lifted a finger to secure the nomination, nor had he made any endeavor in any direction to get it. He had received over seven thousand letters asking him to be a candidate, and had not answered one of them. Now and then the conversation turned to other topics, as if nothing had happened."

His friends began presently to call upon him in large numbers, and congratulatory telegrams from distin-

guished Republicans in every State were delivered to him. In the evening a large part of the people of the town gathered about his dwelling. Their number was shortly increased by the arrival of the train from the West, bringing many from Portland and the villages along the railway line. In response to the cheers of this friendly company Mr. Blaine appeared at the door of his house and said :

“**M**Y **F**RENDS **A**ND **M**Y **N**EIGHBORS—I thank you most sincerely for the honor of this call. There is no spot in the world where good news comes to me so gratefully as here at my own home ; among the people with whom I have been on terms of friendship and intimacy for more than thirty years, people whom I know and who know me. Thanking you again for the heartiness of the compliment, I bid you good night.”

Among the messages of congratulation received by the freshly made nominee, none could have been more grateful than this from the wife of one who, in life, was his staunchest friend :

“CLEVELAND, O., June 7.

“*To Hon. James G. Blaine :*

“Our household joins in one great thanksgiving. From the quiet of our home we send our most earnest wish that through the turbulent months to follow, and in the day of victory, you may be guarded and kept.

“**L**UCRETIA R. **G**ARFIELD.”

The smoke of the battle had not cleared away before men began to speculate as to how it happened.

It happened very simply, for Mr. Blaine was the choice of the majority of the convention. But it is worth while to reproduce this suggestive analysis :

I. Mr. Arthur's friends on the fourth ballot gave to Mr. Blaine 71 votes, and these, with the column of 349 of the latter, constituted 420, or 9 more than a majority. It is therefore true that Mr. Arthur's friends may claim that they alone gave to the successful candidate more allies than were sufficient to nominate him.

II. While Mr. Edmunds had 93 votes on the first ballot, he held only 41 on the fourth roll call. This difference of 52 would have been sufficient to carry Mr. Blaine's column up to 401, and to insure the other 10 from other sources, to make up the majority. It is true, then, that Mr. Edmunds' friends alone contributed to the successful candidates a contingent adequate to determine the nomination.

III. Logan started with $63\frac{1}{2}$ votes, and ended with 7. His friends led $56\frac{1}{2}$ votes to Blaine. This accession alone raised the leading column to $405\frac{1}{2}$; the complement for a majority could not fail to follow.

IV. The strength of the two Shermans and of Lincoln aggregated 36 on the first ballot and two on the last. From these quarters 34 votes went to make up the majority. They alone would not have controlled the event, and yet they go to prove that every element in the convention joined to make the nomination.

All rivals joined to decorate the successful candidate with a majority unparalleled in political history. Such

unanimity and such harmony, such concentration of sentiment, in the convention, are only signs of the heartiness of Republican preference for the foremost American, for the most popular of our statesmen, for the commoner most beloved by the people.

Ratification meetings were held in certain places within a few hours of the nomination, and the days immediately following were filled with these expressions of a genuine satisfaction.

The choice of the convention was not pleasing to all Republicans. The system of nomination is such that some bitter feeling must always remain with the defeated ; and this year the preliminary canvass had been especially acrimonious, and some things had been unwisely said in advance of the nomination which could not be retracted with consistency. On the whole, however, the nomination was accepted in the spirit becoming those who have fought an honest fight and have been honestly defeated. There could be no pretence that Mr. Blaine had not been fairly chosen, or that he was not the choice of an overwhelming majority of the delegates. That he was also the nominee whom the greater part of the Republicans everywhere desired was immediately owned by his opponents. Nevertheless there was a note of dissent. While the bonfires were sending up their merry flames and the cannon sounded joyfully in every village of importance in the North, there was a small body of men whose inclinations were not toward bonfires or cannon. They

received the intelligence of Mr. Blaine's nomination in sullen disappointment, and used the earliest opportunity to make their sour prophecies and warnings. It was in the main, perhaps, an honest body—though its sentiment was largely inspired by free-trade grumblings—but it was not so large nor did it represent a sentiment so well worth the heed of intelligent voters as the companies of revolt which have resulted from other presidential nominations. The choice of Lincoln and Grant and Garfield roused much deeper opposition in the first weeks succeeding their nomination; and yet, dear to the popular heart, grounded securely in the liking of the masses, they went irresistibly on to splendid victories. The judgment of the convention which named Mr. Blaine was of like firm foundation. It was an answer to the unforced, earnest demand of the people, and it is to the people that his friends look for the stout confirmation of their choice offered to Lincoln, Grant, and Garfield, and for the confuting of those who doubt the wisdom of their mighty voice.

The committee to inform Mr. Blaine of his nomination was composed as follows:

JOHN B. HENDERSON, of Missouri, chairman.
GEORGE TURNER, of Alabama.
LOGAN H. ROOTS, of Arkansas.
CHARLES F. CROCKER, of California.
S. H. ELBERT, of Colorado.
SAMUEL FESSENDEN, of Connecticut.
WASHINGTON HASTINGS, of Delaware.
W. G. STEWART, of Florida.
C. D. FORSYTH, of Georgia.

GEORGE R. DAVIS, of Illinois.
JOHN K. BAKER, of Indiana.
N. W. HUBBARD, of Iowa.
HENRY E. INSLEY, of Kansas.
W. C. GOODLOE, of Kentucky.
W. B. MERCHANT, of Louisiana.
JOSIAH H. DRUMMOND, of Maine.
J. MCPHERSON, of Maryland.
JESSE M. GOVE, of Massachusetts.
JULIUS C. BURROWS, of Michigan.
CUSHMAN K. DAVIS, of Minnesota.
JOHN R. LYNCH, of Mississippi.
CHAUNCEY I. FILLEY, of Missouri.
CHURCH HOWE, of Nebraska.
M. D. FOLEY, of Nevada.
E. H. ROLLINS, of New Hampshire.
WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS, of New Jersey.
ANDREW D. WHITE, of New York.
PATRICK H. WINSTON, JR., of North Carolina.
JOHN B. FORAKER, of Ohio.
O. N. DENNY, of Oregon.
GALUSHA A. GROW, of Pennsylvania.
DANIEL G. LITTLEFIELD, of Rhode Island.
SAMUEL W. LEE, of South Carolina.
J. C. NAPIER, of Tennessee.
N. W. CUNEY, of Texas.
FREDERICK BILLINGS, of Vermont.
SAMUEL M. YOST, of Virginia.
ARNOLD C. SHERR, of West Virginia.
E. W. KEYS, of Wisconsin.
S. H. STEBBINS, of Arizona.
J. L. JOLLY, of Dakota.
PERRY H. CARSON, of the District of Columbia.
WILLIAM SHELLING, of Idaho.
LEE MANTLE, of Montana.
W. H. H. LLEWELLYN, of New Mexico.
NATHAN KIMBALL, of Utah.
GEORGE D. HILL, of Washington.
W. J. MELDRUM, of Wyoming.
CHARLES M. CHISBEE, of Michigan, secretary.

This committee arrived in Augusta on June 20th, and the next morning proceeded in a body to Mr. Blaine's house, where they were received by Mrs. Blaine. When all was in readiness, Mr. Blaine was escorted to the lawn, where he stood while General Henderson stepped forward and read the address of the committee, which was as follows :

"MR. BLAINE—Your nomination for the office of the President of the United States by the National Republican Convention, recently assembled at Chicago, is already known to you. The gentlemen before you, constituting the committee composed of one member from each State and Territory of the country, and one from the District of Columbia, now come as the accredited organ of that convention to give you formal notice of your nomination and to request your acceptance thereof. It is of course known to you that, besides your own, several other names, among the most honored in the councils of the Republican party, were presented by their friends as candidates for this nomination. Between your friends and the friends of the other gentlemen so justly entitled to the respect and confidence of their political associates, the contest was one of generous rivalry, free from any taint of bitterness, and equally free from the reproach of injustice.

"At an early stage of the proceedings of the convention it became manifest that the Republican States whose aid must be invoked at last to insure success to the ticket earnestly desired your nomination. It was

equally manifest that the desire so earnestly expressed by delegates from those States was but a truthful reflection of an irresistible popular demand. It was not thought nor pretended that this demand had its origin in any ambitious desires of your own or in organized work of your friends, but it was recognized to be what it truthfully is—a spontaneous expression by the free people of love and admiration of a chosen leader. No nomination would have given satisfaction to every member of the party. This is not to be expected in a country so extended in area and so varied in interests. The nomination of Mr. Lincoln in 1860 disappointed so many hopes and overthrew so many cherished ambitions, that for a short time disaffection threatened to ripen into open revolt. In 1872 the discontent was so pronounced as to impel large masses of the party to an organized opposition to its nominees. For many weeks after the nomination of General Garfield, in 1880, defeat seemed almost inevitable. In each case the shock of disappointment was followed by "sober second thought." Individual preferences gradually yielded to convictions of public duty. The prompting of patriotism finally rose superior to the irritations and animosities of the hour. The party in every trial has grown stronger in the face of threatened danger.

"In tendering you the nomination it gives us pleasure to remember that those great measures which furnished the cause for party congratulations by the late convention at Chicago, and which are now crystallized into

the legislation of the country—measures which have strengthened and dignified the Nation while they have elevated and advanced the people—have at all times and on all proper occasions received your earnest and valuable support. It was your good fortune to aid in protecting the Nation against the assaults of armed treason. You were present and helped to unloose the shackles of slavery, you assisted in placing anew guarantees of freedom in the Federal Constitution. Your voice was potent in preserving national faith, when false theories of finance would have blasted national and individual prosperity. We kindly remember you as the fast friend of honest money and commercial integrity. In all that pertains to the security and repose of capital, the dignity of labor, manhood, the elevation and freedom of the people, the right of the oppressed to demand, and the duty of the government to afford protection, your public acts have received the unqualified endorsement of popular approval.

“But we are not unmindful of the fact that parties, like individuals, cannot live entirely on the past, however splendid the record. The present is ever charged with its immediate cares, and the future presses on with its new duties, its perplexing responsibilities; parties, like individuals, however, that are free from the stain of violated faith in the past are fairly entitled to the presumption of sincerity in their promises for the future. Among the promises made by the party in its late convention at Chicago, are: economy and purity of ad-

ministration ; protection of the citizen, native and naturalized, at home and abroad ; the prompt restoration of the Navy ; the wise reduction of surplus revenues, relieving the taxpayer without injuring the laborer ; the preservation of public lands for actual settlers, import duties when necessary at all to be levied, not for revenue only, but for the double purpose of revenue and protection ; the regulation of internal commerce ; the settlement of international differences by peaceful arbitration, but coupled with the reassertion and maintenance of the Monroe doctrine as interpreted by the fathers of the Republic ; perseverance in the good work of the civil service reform, to the end that dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided, honest currency based on coin of intrinsic value, adding strength to the public credit, and giving renewed vitality to every branch of American industry.

“MR. BLAINE—During the last twenty-three years the Republican party has builded a new Republic—a Republic far more splendid than originally designed by our fathers. As its proportions are already grand they may yet be enlarged ; its foundations may yet be strengthened, and its columns may be adorned with a beauty more resplendent still. To you as its architect-in-chief will soon be assigned this grateful work.”

To which Mr. Blaine replied :

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE :—I receive, not without deep sensibility,

your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate, more profoundly than I can express, the honor which is implied in the nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the nation, speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor and my desire to prove worthy of the great trust imposed in me. In accepting the nomination as I now do, I am impressed—I am also oppressed—with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the host of earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add, as does your honorable committee, the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty.

“A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made a careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that, in whole and in detail, they have my heartiest sympathy and meet my unqualified approval.

“ Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my house. With many of you I have already shared the duties of public service and have enjoyed most cordial friendship. I

trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but with friends.

“Invoking the blessings of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear, and with manly hearts.”

XXI.

THE MAN.

THE history of the Republican candidate has been traced. We have followed Mr. Blaine through college to the teacher's seat and the chair of an editor. Later he has been seen in the State Legislature, the House of Representatives, the Senate, and in charge of the first portfolio of the Cabinet. The story of the quiet years of study succeeding, and the nomination which has called him from the calm pleasures of literature, has been duly made known to the reader. There remains the mysterious and intangible quality of individuality,—something of which this little history, if at all faithful, must have given some hints in its progress, but which it will not do to leave to its casual revelations. The kind of impertinence which one feels in dealing at all with so intimate a part of a living man is one which must be forgiven to the biographer of the most completely public figure that we know—a candidate for the Presidency. Since it must be part of our record, it cannot be better begun than by the reproduction of some

honest words from one who may be presumed to know him nearly. Rev. Dr. James H. Ecol, who for some years was pastor of the church attended by Mr. and Mrs. Blaine in Augusta, has said :

"The satisfaction I take in his nomination is based upon such knowledge of him as only a pastor can gain. I believe that I am too true a Republican, and I know that my conception of citizenship is too high, to permit me to ratify the exaltation of any man whose character has not the true ring. I have been very near to Mr. Blaine, not only in the most trying political crises, but in the sharper trial of great grief in the household, and have never yet detected a false note. I would not be understood as asserting too much for human nature. I mean that as I have known him he has stood loyally by his convictions ; that his word has always had back of it a clear purpose, and that purpose has always been worthy of the highest manhood. In his house he was always the soul of geniality and good heart. It was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without. And not only his 'rich neighbors and kinsmen' welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special providence. In the church he is honored and beloved. The good old New England custom of church-going with all the guests is enforced strictly in the Blaine household. Whoever is under his roof, from the President down, is expected to be with the family at church. Fair weather or foul, those pews were always well filled.

Not only his presence in church, but his influence, his wise counsels, his purse are freely devoted to the interest of the noble Old South Church of Augusta. The hold which Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts or magnetism ; the secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding. I have absolute knowledge that in 1880 he did not lift a finger to influence the convention. He was quietly at home devoting himself to his business affairs, and steadfastly refused even the entreaties of his own family to interest himself in behalf of the nomination. I, for one, shall put my conscience into my vote next November."

That touch of genuineness—uncounterfeitable, undeniable when present, which endeared Garfield to everyone who heard and even to those who merely read his words, runs through the character of his friend. Garfield's own severe loyalty to truth and right was a touchstone which drew its like and which sounded every one who approached him. To say that a man was his trusted friend seems to those who keep his memory the final word.

There is nothing so well worth saying to the praise of

this sketch's subject ; but it does not complete his portrait. It ought to be added, for instance, to begin with the sturdy minor virtues, that industry has been one of the foremost qualities which have lifted Mr. Blaine to his position. In Congress, as has been said, he was from the first one of the most unsparingly laborious and faithful of committee-men. His mastery of details was rapid and accurate, and left him in firm possession of the larger points of the questions which came before him. Elsewhere in this volume are some words of his upon the value of the capacity for hard work to the dead President whom he eulogized, and it has been the corner-stone of his own career. It is not a usual combination, this of the patient laborer and the commanding genius which takes the eye of the world ; but Mr. Blaine did his unobserved plodding with the zeal and energy which carried all before him on the wider stage of the two Houses of Congress. His notable physical endowment is part of the secret of his power of concentration ; but it was first in the nature of the man. It was exhibited so early in his life as during his college days, when it enabled that solid and ample acquirement of knowledge which has strengthened and enlightened his public acts as well as his public discourses.

Those who like to trace the beginnings of things go back to his college days also for the budding of the spirit of aggressiveness which is perhaps the characteristic most commonly attributed to the Republican candidate. Then, as has been recorded, he was the eager champion

of the weak, ready at all times to do battle whether for his own rights or those of others. The quality was an outcome of a positive individuality. It never at all partook of the anxious pugnacity which finds its account in mere contest, and with his years it sobered into the vigorous temper of opposition to mistaken, narrow, and meretricious legislation, which gave him much of his power in the House. He was alert, decided, and energetic; and if the disposition which breeds these is the aggressive one, then aggression is a singularly fortunate spirit for an American Congressman. He was constant in his attention upon the sessions of both Houses while he was a member of them, and no suspicious law was passed without his challenge. In his eulogy of Garfield, Mr. Blaine says "The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas, and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a single trait in common, the power to command. In the give and take of daily discussion, in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers, in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition, and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history." Mr. Blaine's name may perhaps fairly be set down as that fourth. His words are the apt description of

his own power; and they say that power so perfectly that it is needless to add anything to them.

Such a force is interesting, but it is not on this side that he is to be most familiarly approached. It is as he is known to his acquaintance, his friends, and neighbors that he engages us; and few public men, after Garfield, bear this intimate kind of scrutiny better. Some one says that he is "a hearty, cordial, unaffected, agreeable man." The phrase is inadequate only because the charm of manner is elusive of expression. "He is vivid and genial," it is added, but the whole is not said. It is a thing which can be at all rendered only by its result; but if we say that no one converses with him who is not charmed and impressed, it is still very weakly told.

"Mr. Blaine with those who know him is the most popular of men. The charm of his manner is beyond expression, and nobody comes within the circle of his presence who is not overcome with his fascinations. With his great brilliancy he has that exquisite show of deference to his companions, a sort of appeal to them to verify or deny his words, that is very taking. He is also a very good listener, and he has an agreeable way of speaking one's name and placing his hand on one's knee, that is an agreeable salve to one's vanity. There is no acting in the heartiness of his manner. He is an impulsive man, with a very warm heart, kindly instincts, and a generous nature. He is open, frank, and manly."

One has not, however, the more perfect form of an agreeable bearing, lacking a real substructure of gentle-

ness and good-will, sustained in their turn by the deeper qualities from which they spring. Mr. Blaine has not only these; he is equipped in addition with that best grace in a public man, a sound memory. It is stored not alone with the facts and arguments which are his weapons, or the wide knowledge with which he points them. It is a happily personal memory, and never loses from it a face or voice. The anecdotes which illustrate this would make an abundant literature, and that of his recalling an old farmer whom he had met once four years before, and captivating him by using his name and bringing to his own lapsed memory a trivial incident of their first meeting is an instance of them. A journalist produces a more remarkable story.

"In 1863," says he, "I wrote for *The New York Herald* an account, some twelve columns long, of the battle of Chickamauga. About twenty lines of the entire account were devoted to the narration of a trifling incident. A white pigeon, or dove, confused by the smoke of the last desperate combat at the close of the battle, in which George H. Thomas repulsed Longstreet's attack on his right, fluttered awhile over the heads of Thomas, Garfield, Wood, and others, grouped in a little hollow in the field for protection from the Rebel sharpshooters, and then perched on the limb of a dead tree just above them. Here it sat until the firing ceased, and then flew northward unhurt. It was a pretty incident, and, of course, I took all the license of a writer and made it as striking a passage of the narrative as I

could. In 1874, eleven years later, while in the Capital one day I was introduced to Mr. Blaine, who was at the time Speaker of the House. If I remember rightly, I had never before seen him, and I supposed he had never heard of me. Imagine my astonishment, then, when he said abruptly on hearing my name, ‘You’re the man I’ve been wanting to see for ten years.’

“He took my arm and drew me half away to one side of the corridor. ‘Did you write for *The Herald* an account of Chickamauga in which a white dove figured rather poetically?’ he asked, and then went on to recall what I had written. ‘Now,’ he continued, ‘tell me, was that a true incident or only done to make the story readable.’ I assured him it was true, and mentioned that General Garfield, who was in the House, would probably recall it, as he was present. Nothing more of interest passed between us ; but naturally I have since sworn by the man who could recall my unknown name and what I had written about a mere incident occurring ten years before. He was so earnest in his inquiry that I have never doubted that his curiosity in the matter, small as the incident was, was genuine.”

If to his energy his indefatigable efforts for honest laws, his faithfulness to the best good of his party, his aggressive determination that the right shall win, we add those personal charms of manner just touched upon, and that indescribable element in his addresses to the people during political canvasses which takes all hearts, we have a fair measure of the causes of his popularity.

though we have but a vague measure of the man. At least, however, we know that the real popularity is not won by any craft or art known to men ; we know that Mr. Blaine's popularity is real, and that by means of all his admirable qualities it would not have been possible if they had not been grounded upon an honest manhood.





A BRIEF RECORD
OF
THE LIFE OF
JOHN A. LOGAN.

JOHN A. LOGAN.

SENATOR LOGAN, the Republican candidate for Vice-President, has, like Mr. Blaine, been successful in many pursuits. He is a sound and able lawyer, a sagacious political manager, and he was an intrepid and brilliant general. But it is as a soldier that his solidest fame has been won, and the story of his life is in the main a military story. The record of campaigns and battles when told in brief, as it must be here, bears the relation to biography that the catalogue of the ships does to the Iliad, and as a catalogue, at the end of the ends, is no more than a catalogue, it will be useless to attempt to give the plain facts a new dress. The summary which follows is taken from the *New York Times*, and may be supposed to be impartial :

"General Logan was born near what is now Murphysboro', Jackson County, Ill., February 9, 1824, and is the eldest of eleven children. His father, Dr. John Logan, had come from Ireland to Illinois three years before, marrying Elizabeth Jenkins, a Tennessee lady. John received his early education from his father

and in such schools as the locality afforded at that time. In 1840 he was for a few months one of the students of an academy called Shiloh College. He was in his twentieth year when the Mexican war broke out, and he was among the first to volunteer. He was chosen lieutenant of one of the companies of the First Illinois Regiment, and was subsequently made adjutant of the regiment. He returned to Illinois in October, 1848, with an excellent record. He then began the study of law in the office of his uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois. In November, 1844, he was elected Clerk of Jackson County, and held the office until the following year, when he went to Louisville to attend lectures in the Law School. Receiving his diploma in 1851, he was admitted to the Bar, and formed a partnership with his uncle. He had many qualities that fitted him for the successful practice of law. A practical mind, clear and keen perceptions, much fertility of resource and unusual ability as a public speaker, carried him at once to the front rank of the legal fraternity of his immediate field, and before he had been a year in practice, he was elected Prosecuting Attorney of the Third Judicial District of the State. He then lived in the town of Benton.

"It was at the fall election of the same year when he was chosen to the State Legislature as the representative of Jackson and Franklin Counties that the long public career of John A. Logan had its actual beginning. Since then he has been almost constantly in the

civil or military service of his country. He was re-elected to the State Legislature in 1853 and 1854, and in the latter year was a Presidential elector and cast his vote for James Buchanan. Two years later he was elected to the Thirty-sixth Congress by the Democrats of the Ninth Congressional District, and served as chairman of the Committee on Unfinished Business. He was re-elected in 1860, the year of the Presidential campaign, when Abraham Lincoln was nominated by the Republican Convention at Chicago, and Stephen A. Douglas by the Democrats at Charleston. John A. Logan was a Democrat, and warmly advocated the election of Mr. Douglas, but when the events of the succeeding year were foreshadowed in the attitude of the South, his patriotism, which could not be subordinated to partisanship, asserted itself, and he openly declared that although he hoped Mr. Lincoln would not be elected, yet if he were, and his election should provoke an outbreak of the hostile Southern sentiment, he "would shoulder his musket to have him inaugurated." During the session of Congress in the winter of 1860-61 Mr. Logan repeatedly arraigned the Southern members for their disloyalty, and asked them how they reconciled their open hostility to the Government with their oaths to support the Constitution.

"But Mr. Logan was not destined to remain long on the floor of Congress when hostilities to the Union of a graver sort had appeared in the open field. He attended the special session of Congress called by Mr. Lincoln in

the early summer of 1861, but he left his seat in July and took his place in the ranks of the Union forces, then marching on to meet the enemy in Virginia. The battle of Bull Run, in which he bore a brave part, though he served in the ranks, proved clearly that a much larger force was needed to crush the rebellion than was at first supposed. Mr. Logan returned to Illinois, and by a series of stirring and patriotic appeals in the southern part of the State rallied thousands of volunteers, and himself joined the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Infantry. He was elected colonel, and the regiment was mustered into service on the 13th of September. The regiment was attached to General McCleernand's brigade, and was first under fire at Belmont, seven weeks later. In this engagement Colonel Logan led a timely bayonet charge, which broke the enemy's lines and saved a portion of the command from capture. During the fight he had a horse shot under him and a pistol at his side shattered by rebel bullets. He led the Thirty-first at Fort Henry, and was among the foremost in the gallant assault on Fort Donelson, where he was severely wounded and for a time disabled from active service. He reported for duty, after his recovery, to General Grant at Pittsburg Landing, and not long after —March 5, 1862—was promoted to the grade of Brigadier-General of Volunteers. In the following May he showed himself a brave and skilful general in the siege of Corinth, and after its occupation his brigade guarded the rail communications with Jackson, Tenn.

"During the summer of 1862 he was importuned to become again a candidate for Congress, but declined in a letter in which he said: 'I have entered the field to die, if need be, for this Government, and never expect to return to peaceful pursuits until the object of this war of preservation has become a fact established.' He displayed such skill and bravery in Grant's campaign of the Northern Mississippi in 1862 and 1863 that he was made a major-general, the commission dating from November 29, 1862. As the commander of the Third Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, under General McPherson, he took part in the battle of Fort Gibson, fought with distinguished personal bravery at the battle of Raymond on the 12th of May, helped drive the rebels out of Jackson two days later, and was in the battle of Champion Hill, May 11. He led the centre of General McPherson's command at the siege of Vicksburg, and his column first entered the city after the surrender, July 4, 1863. He was appointed Military Governor of the city, where a gold medal was presented to him, the boon of honor of the Seventh Army Corps. He visited the North in the summer of that year, and made several eloquent Union speeches. As a specimen of those speeches the following extract from one delivered at Duquoin, Ill., may be quoted:

"The Government is worth fighting for. It is worth generations and centuries of war. It is worth the lives of the best and noblest men in the land. We will fight for this Government for the sake of ourselves and our

children. Our little ones shall read in history of the men who stood by the Government in its dark and gloomy hours, and it shall be the proud boast of many that their fathers died in this glorious struggle for American liberty. I believe to-day—I believe it honestly—that if the people of the North were united and all stood upon one platform, as we do in the army, this rebellion would be crushed in ninety days. I want to show you the reason why more troops ought to be raised. We can crush this rebellion. I know it. Why, we have marched a little army clear from Cairo to Vicksburg; below, a small one has marched from New Orleans to Port Hudson. We have opened the Mississippi River. We have split the Confederacy in two, leaving on one side Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri—more territory than is on the eastern side. We have made a gulf that is impassable for them. We can hurl our strength upon one half and whip them, then upon the other and whip that.'

"He was stationed at Huntsville, Ala., the following winter, having succeeded General Sherman as commander of the Fifteenth Army Corps. Early in the summer of 1864, the Division of the Mississippi was making ready for 'Sherman's march to the sea.' General Logan led the Army of the Tennessee upon the right of the grand march, and was successively engaged in the battle at Resaca, in the repulse of Hardee's forces at Dallas, at Little Kenesaw Mountain, and in the desperate battle of Peach Tree Creek, where Gen-

eral McPherson fell. General Logan at once took command, and infusing his troops with the emotions which possessed him at the death of his chief, he led them with such desperate fury that eight thousand rebel dead were left on the field. He was also at the battle of Ezra Chapel, July 28th. In fact, he participated in every battle of that historic campaign, from Missionary Ridge to the fall of Atlanta on the 2d of September. After those momentous events, General Logan returned to Illinois, and during the fall months of the Presidential campaign of that year made many speeches for Lincoln in the Western States. He joined his command again at Savannah, and marched with Sherman through the Carolinas, and, after Johnston's surrender, to Washington. On May 23, 1865, he was appointed to succeed General Howard in the command of the Army of the Tennessee.

"Thus ended his brilliant army career. In the autumn of 1865 President Johnson offered him the position of Minister to Mexico, which he declined, and in 1866 he was nominated by the Republicans of Illinois to represent the State at large in the Fortieth Congress, and was elected by over sixty thousand majority. He was one of the managers on the part of the House in the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson, in the spring of 1867. He was returned to the House of Representatives by re-elections in 1868 and 1870, but in 1871 was elected to the United States Senate to succeed Senator Yates. His first term as Senator expired in 1877, and he failed of

re-election, David Davis being chosen in his stead. The Republicans in the Illinois Legislature then had only two majority on joint ballot, and three of the Republicans voted with the Democrats for Mr. Davis. Two years later General Logan was more successful. He then succeeded to the seat of Richard J. Oglesby. In the Senate he has introduced and supported many bills concerning rewards to soldiers, and army matters in general. At military reunions he has always been active. He was one of the founders of the Grand Army of the Republic, which originated at Decatur, Ill., and was its first national commander. Apart from these matters he has acquired in public life a special reputation from his defence of the findings of the court which tried Fitz John Porter."

The soldier's haversack of stories, unpacked before every camp-fire, has in these days of peace to put its treasures into type, and since General Logan's nomination those who remember him in the field have found the public journals convenient repositories. Says a war correspondent of the *New York Herald*:

"Logan belonged to the class of popular volunteer generals, and in the West was regarded somewhat as Phil Kearney was in the East. He had all the daring, dash, and pugnacity of Kearney and Hooker. I was with him nearly all the day before the battle of Resaca, Georgia, on May 14, 1864, and slept in an ambulance with him the same night—that is, I slept part of the night in the ambulance—but he was so thundering mad

when awake, and so restless when sleeping, that, for my own comfort, I got up and lay down under the wagon on the ground. I never saw a madder man than Logan was that day and night. He had the advance of McPherson's corps on a flank movement around the left of the rebel army at Dalton, and had planted his division square across their only line of retreat. Just beyond a small fordable stream the rebels had built a fort commanding a bridge of great importance to them, and Logan was preparing to assault it when McPherson, his corps commander, came up and stopped the movement, deeming it hazardous. Logan said he could carry the works with a single brigade and destroy the bridge with his two other brigades, thus cutting off the rebel retreat and forcing him to battle with Sherman's one hundred thousand men—quite double that of the rebel force. He pleaded with McPherson to let him go ahead, proposing to lead the assaulting column in person. From pleading he advanced to protestations, and then to curses 'both loud and deep,' and these became almost bitter personal denunciations of McPherson when, deciding against an attack, he ordered Logan to march back six miles to a strong defensive position and fortify it.

"It happened that I heard part of this rather stormy interview, and the same evening General McPherson took occasion to explain to me that he had made this retrograde movement in obedience to imperative orders. It turned out to be one of the grave mistakes of the

war, and Sherman severely criticised McPherson afterward for not taking the risk suggested by Logan, though he sustained him in command. Logan's instinct for fighting proved correct on that occasion ; it was subsequently discovered that the rebel fort at Resaca was held by only sixteen hundred dismounted Georgia militia cavalrymen. Logan's veterans could have 'run over them' if McPherson had let them loose with 'Black Jack' at their head.

"One of the finest illustrations of the magnetic influence of a single man in the crisis of a battle was furnished by Logan at Peach Tree Creek, a battle fought before Atlanta. The rebels had flanked McPherson as completely as he had turned their line at Resaca, and had attacked him vigorously. McPherson was killed, and the command of the whole corps unexpectedly devolved in a moment on Logan, and he had not only his own but other divisions to look after. He left his own immediate command, and in person rallied the First Division, which, being surprised, was in great confusion. It was done by actual personal exertion in the front of the line, at a great personal risk. The troops had more confidence in Logan than in McPherson, for the reason that Logan led, whereas McPherson directed his men ; and when the retreating division saw Logan riding along their confused lines, they rallied and went vigorously into the fight with a counter-charge on the rebel forces. It was a fair, square illustration of personal magnetism of a fearless leader over brave men. It was

a quality many of the generals who gained greater military distinction than Logan did not possess, and did not lay claim to."

Lieutenant Merriman, who for a time was General Logan's secretary in the war, relates, in *The Waterbury American*, how General Logan cashiered his own brother-in-law, Colonel Osborne. Orders had been issued to organize negro regiments. The report came to Logan that Osborne had publicly declared to his regiment that he had not come there "to fight to free the niggers." "Logan at once sent for his brother-in-law to come to headquarters," says Lieutenant Merriman. "I was present when Osborne arrived. Logan asked him if the statements were true that he had been talking in that way to his regiment. Osborne replied in the affirmative, and repeated the sentiment. Logan roared with rage like a lion. I cannot repeat his language, but the words came hot and thick from an outraged heart. Finally, pausing, he told Osborne he was not fit to command a Union regiment, and to write out his resignation at once and be cashiered. Osborne, abashed and overawed, obeyed, and Logan wrote approved on the back of the paper and forwarded it immediately by an aide to General Grant's headquarters. Before night Osborne was without a commission, out of the army, and reduced to the position of a mere citizen of Illinois."

A considerable part of the committee appointed to inform Mr. Blaine of his nomination met in Wash-

ton June 24, 1884. These were : Turner, of Alabama ; Bush, California ; Hastings, Delaware ; Stewart, Florida ; Brown, Georgia ; Davis, Illinois ; Goodloe, Kentucky ; Merchant, Louisiana ; Walker Blaine, Maine ; Gove, Massachusetts ; Lynch, Mississippi ; Howe, Nebraska ; Young, Nevada ; Phelps, New Jersey ; Winston, North Carolina ; Lee, South Carolina ; Houck, Tennessee ; Cuney, Texas ; Yost, Virginia ; Thompson, West Virginia ; Hill, Washington Territory ; Stebbins, Arizona ; Pride, Idaho ; Murray, Utah ; Meldrum, Wyoming ; Carson, District of Columbia. They went in a body to General Logan's home, and being gathered in an apartment of his residence, Chairman Henderson said :

"SENATOR LOGAN : The gentlemen present constitute a committee of the Republican Convention recently assembled at Chicago, charged with the duty of communicating to you the formal notice of your nomination by that convention as a candidate for Vice-President of the United States. You are not unaware of the fact that your name was presented to the convention and urged by a large number of the delegates as a candidate for President. So soon, however, as it became apparent that Mr. Blaine, your colleague on the ticket, was the choice of the party for that high office, your friends, with those of other competitors, promptly yielded their individual preferences to this manifest wish of the majority. In tendering you this nomination, we are able to assure you it was made without

opposition, and with an enthusiasm seldom witnessed in the history of nominating conventions. We are gratified to know that in a career of great usefulness and distinction you have most efficiently aided in the enactment of those measures of legislation and of constitutional reform in which the convention found special cause for party congratulation. The principles enunciated in the platform adopted will be recognized by you as the same which have so long governed and controlled your political conduct.

"The pledges made by the party find guarantee of performance in the fidelity with which you have heretofore discharged every trust confided to your keeping. In your election, the people of this country will furnish new proof of the excellence of our institutions. Without wealth, without help from others, without any resources, except those of heart, conscience, intellect, energy, and courage, you have won a high place in the world's history, and secured the confidence and affections of your countrymen. Being one of the people, your sympathies are with the people. In civil life, your chief care has been to better their condition to secure their rights and perpetuate their liberties. When the Government was threatened by armed treason, you entered its service as a private, became a commander of armies, and are now the idol of the citizen-soldiers of the Republic. Such, in the judgment of your party, is the candidate it has selected, and in behalf of that party we ask you to accept its nomination."

After a brief interval General Logan replied :

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE : I receive your visit with pleasure and accept with gratitude the sentiments you have so generously expressed in the discharge of the duty with which you have been intrusted by the National Republican Convention. Intending to address you a formal communication shortly in accordance with the recognized usage, it would be out of place to detain you at this time with remarks which properly belong to the official utterances of a letter of acceptance. I may be permitted to say, however, that though I did not seek the nomination of Vice-President, I accept it as a trust reposed in me by the Republican party, to the advancement of whose broad policy upon all questions connected with the progress of our Government and our people, I have dedicated my best energies, and with this acceptance I may properly signify my approval of the platform of principles adopted by the convention. I am deeply sensible of the honor conferred upon me by my friends in so unanimously tendering me this nomination, and I sincerely thank them for this tribute.

"I am not unmindful of the great responsibilities attaching to the office, and, if elected, I shall enter upon the performance of its duties with the firm conviction that he who has such an unanimous support of his party friends as the circumstances connected with the nomination and your own words, Mr. Chairman, indicate, and consequently such a wealth of counsel to

draw upon, cannot fail in the proper discharge of the duties commended to him.

"I tender you my thanks, Mr. Chairman, for the kind expressions you have made, and I offer you and your fellow-committeemen my most cordial greeting."

Mrs. Logan was appropriately present at these ceremonies, for more than is often given to women she has been the close companion of her husband. She has actively shared his successes, and General Logan would perhaps say that she has inspired them.

APPENDIX A.

THE PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY—1884.

THE Republicans of the United States in National Convention assembled renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation, assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose

sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen.

It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people. The largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people. We therefore demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for revenue only, but that in raising the requisite revenues for the Government such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economic system of the Democratic party which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest. The Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people

of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing, and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we therefore respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool, in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of an international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce.

The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection

of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed. We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens of American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our working-men in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reformed system, already established by law, to all the grades of the service to

which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the danger to free institutions which lurks in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be reserved, as far as possible, for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil. We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions for all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party also pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the arrears act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge, and not with the date of their application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in American affairs —the policy which seeks peace and can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the western hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme

within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union be kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and correct returns.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democracy in Southern States by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruits of such fraud and violence. We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our utmost earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

APPENDIX B.

SPEECH OF MR. BLAINE IN THE HOUSE ON NATIONAL FINANCE, FEBRUARY 10, 1876.

MR. CHAIRMAN: The honor of the National Government and the prosperity of the American people are alike menaced by those who demand the perpetuation of the irredeemable paper currency. For more than two years the country has been suffering from prostration in business; confidence returns but slowly; trade revives only partially, and to-day, with capital unproductive and labor unemployed, we find ourselves in the midst of an agitation respecting the medium with which business transactions shall be carried on. Until this question is definitely adjusted, it is idle to expect that full measure of prosperity to which the energies of our people and the resources of the land entitle us. In the way of that adjustment one great section of the Democratic party—possibly its controlling power—stubbornly stands to-day. The Republicans, always true to the primal duty of supporting the nation's credit, have now cast behind them all minor differences and dissensions on the financial

question, and have gradually consolidated their strength against inflation. The currency, therefore, becomes of necessity a prominent political issue, and those Democrats who are in favor of honest dealing by the Government and honest money for the people may be compelled to act as they did in that still graver exigency when the existence of the Government itself was at stake.

While this question should be approached in no spirit of partisan bitterness, it has yet become so entangled with party relations that no intelligent discussion of it can be had without giving its political history, and if that history bears severely on the Democratic party, its defenders must answer the facts and not quarrel with their presentation. Firmly attached to one political party myself, firmly believing that parties in a free government are as healthful as they are inevitable, I still think there are questions about which parties should never agree to disagree; and of these is the essential nature and value of the circulating medium. And it is a fact of special weight and significance that up to the paper-money era which was precipitated upon us during the rebellion as one of war's inexorable necessities, there never was a political party in this country that believed in any other than the specie standard for our currency. If there was any one principle that was rooted and grounded in the minds of our earlier statesmen, it was the evil of paper money; and no candid man of any party can read the Constitution of the United States and not be convinced that its framers intended to defend

and protect our people from the manifold perils of an irredeemable currency.

The country is suffering under one of those periodical revulsions in trade common to all commercial nations, and which thus far no wisdom of legislation has been able to avert. The natural restlessness of a people so alive and alert as ours looks for an instant remedy, and the danger in such a condition of the public mind is that something may be adopted that will ultimately deepen the disease rather than lay the groundwork for an effectual cure. Naturally enough, at such a time the theories for relief are numerous, and we have marvellous recipes offered whereby the people shall be enabled to pay the dollar they owe with less than 100 cents; while those who are caught with such a delusion seemingly forget that, even if this be so, they must likewise receive less than 100 cents for the dollar that is due them. Whether the dollar that they owe to-day or the dollar that is due them to-morrow will have the greater or less number of cents depends on the shifting of causes which they can neither control nor foresee; and therefore all certain calculation in trade is set at defiance, and those branches of business which take on the form of gambling are by a financial paradox most secure and most promising.

THE DEPRESSION OF TRADE.

Uncertainty as to the value of the currency from day to day is injurious to all honest industry. And while

that which is known as the debtor interest should be fairly and justly considered in the shaping of the measure for specie resumption, there is no justice in asking for inflation on its behalf. Rather there is the gravest injustice ; for you must remember that there is a large class of most deserving persons who would be continually and remorselessly robbed by such a policy. I mean the labor of the country that is compelled to live from and by its daily earnings. The savings banks, which represent the surplus owned by the laborers of the nation, have deposits to-day exceeding \$1,100,000,000—more than the entire capital stock and deposits of the National banks. The pensioners, who represent the patriotic suffering of the country, have a capitalized investment of \$600,000,000. Here are \$1,700,000,000 incapable of receiving anything but instant and lasting injury from inflation. Whatever impairs the purchasing power of the dollar correspondingly decreases the resources of the savings-bank depositor and the pensioner. The pensioner's loss would be absolute, but it would probably be argued that the laborer would receive compensation by his nominally larger earnings. But this would prove totally delusive, for no possible augmentation of wages in a time of inflation will ever keep pace with a still greater increase in the price of the commodities necessary to sustain life, except—and mark the exception—under the condition witnessed during the war, when the number of laborers was continually reduced by the demand for men to serve in the army and navy.

And those honest-minded people who recall the startling activity of trade and the large profits during the war, and attribute both to an inflated currency, commit the error of leaving out the most important element of the calculation. They forget that the Government was a customer for nearly four years at the rate of \$2,000,-000 or \$3,000,000 per day, buying countless quantities of all the staple articles ; they forget that the number of consumers was continually enlarging as our armed force grew to its gigantic proportions, and that the number of producers was by the same cause continually growing less, and that there was presented, on a scale of unprecedented magnitude, that simple problem, familiar alike to the political economist and the village trader, of the demand being greater than the supply, and a consequent rise in the price. Had the Government been able to conduct the war on a gold basis and provided the coin for its necessarily large and lavish expenditure, a rise in the price of labor and a rise in the value of commodities would have been inevitable. And the rise of both labor and commodities in gold would have been for the time as marked as in paper, adding, of course, the depreciation of the latter to its scale of prices. While the delusion of creating wealth by the issue of irredeemable paper currency may lead to any number of absurd propositions, the advocates of the heresy seem to have settled down on two measures—or rather one measure composed of two parts—namely : To abolish the National Banks, and then have the Govern-

ment issue legal tenders at once to the amount of the bank circulation, and add to the volume thereafter, from time to time, "according to the wants of trade." The two propositions are so inseparably connected that I shall discuss them together.

THE NATIONAL BANK SYSTEM.

The National Bank System, Mr. Chairman, was one of the results of the war, and the credit of its origin belongs to the late Salmon P. Chase, then Secretary of the Treasury. And it may not be unprofitable just here to recall to the House the circumstances which, at that time, made the National Banks a necessity to the Government. At the outbreak of the war there were considerably over a thousand State Banks, of different degrees of responsibility or irresponsibility, scattered over the country. Their charters demanded the redemption of their bills in specie, and under the pressure of this requirement their aggregate circulation was kept within decent limits; but the amount of it was left, in most instances, to the discretion of the directors, and not a few of these banks issued ten dollars of bills for one of specie in their vaults. With the passage of the legal-tender act, however, followed by an enormous issue of Government notes, the State Banks would no longer be required to redeem in specie, and would, therefore, at once flood the country with their own bills, and take from the Government its resource in that di-

rection. To restrict and limit their circulation, and to make the banks as helpful as possible in the great work of sustaining the Government's finances, the National Bank act was passed. This act required, in effect, that every bank should loan its entire capital stock to the Government, or, in other words, invest it in Government bonds ; and that, on depositing these bonds with the Treasurer of the United States, the bank might receive not exceeding ninety per cent. of this amount in circulating notes, the Government holding the bonds for the protection of the bill-holder in case the bank should fail. And that, in brief, is precisely what a National Bank is to-day. I do not say the system is perfect, I do not feel called upon to rush to its advocacy or defence. I do not doubt as we go forward we may find many points in which the system may be improved. But this I am bold to maintain : That, contrasted with any other system of banking that this country has ever had, it is immeasurably superior ; and whoever asks, as some Democrats now do, for its abolition, with a view of getting back any system of State Banks, is a blind leader ; and a very deep ditch of disorder and disaster awaits the followers, if the people should ever be so blind as to take that fatal step. It is greatly to be deplored, Mr. Chairman, that many candid men have conceived the notion that it would be saving to the people if all banks could be dispensed with and the circulating medium be furnished by the Government issuing legal tenders. I do not stop here to argue that this would be

in violation of the Government's pledge not to issue more than \$400,000,000 of its own notes. I merely remark that that pledge is binding in honor until legal tenders are redeemable in coin on presentation; and when that point is reached, there will be no desire, as certainly there will be no necessity, for the Government issuing additional notes. The great and, to my mind, unanswerable objection to this scheme is that it places the currency wholly in the power and under the direction of Congress. Now, Congress always has been, and always will be, governed by a partisan majority, representing one of the political parties of the country, and the proposition, therefore, reduces itself to this—that the circulating medium, instead of having a fixed, determinate value, shall be shifted, and changed, and manipulated according to the supposed needs of "the party." I profess, Mr. Chairman, to have some knowledge of the American Congress; its general character; its personnel, its scope, its power. I think, on the whole, it is a far more patriotic, intelligent, and upright body of men than it generally gets credit for in the country; but at the same time I can conceive of no assemblage of reputable gentlemen in the United States more utterly unfitted to determine from time to time the amount of circulation required by the "wants of trade." But indeed, no body of men could be entrusted with that power. Even if it were possible to trust their discretion, their integrity would be constantly under suspicion. If they performed their duties with the pu-

rity of an angel of light, they could not successfully repel those charges which always follow where the temptation to do wrong is powerful and the way easy. Experience would very soon demonstrate that no more corrupting device, no wilder or more visionary project, ever entered the brain of the schemer or the empiric.

If the people of the United States were fully awake and aroused to their interests, and could see things as they are, instead of increasing the power of Congress over the currency they would by the shortest practicable process divorce the two, completely and forever. And this can be done finally, effectually, irreversibly by the resumption of specie payment. Why, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that ever since the Government was compelled to resort to irredeemable currency during the war, the assembling of Congress and its continuance in session have been the most disturbing elements in the business of the country. It is literally true that no man can tell what a day may bring forth. One large interest looks hopefully to contraction and the lowering of the gold premium ; another is ruined unless there is such a movement toward expansion as will send gold up. Each side, of course, endeavors to influence and convince Congress. Both sides naturally have their sympathizing advocates on this floor, and hence the substantial interests of the country are kept in a feverish, doubtful, speculative state. Men's minds are turned from honest industry to schemes of financial gambling, the public morals suffer, old-fashioned in-

tegrity is forgotten, enduring prosperity with honest gains and quiet contentment is rendered impossible. We have suffered thus far in perhaps as light a degree as could be expected under the circumstances ; but once adopt the insane idea that all currency shall be issued directly by the Government, and that Congress shall be the judge of the amount demanded by "the wants of trade," and you have this country adrift, rudderless, on a sea of troubles shoreless and soundless.

THE LEGAL-TENDER CLAUSE NECESSARY.

But whether we shall succeed or shall fail in restoring to United States notes the funding privilege with which they were originally endowed, I must here record my earnest protest against the policy of repealing the legal-tender clause which has given to these notes their great strength as a circulating medium. I cannot see how the Government can consistently deprive them of their legal-tender quality until it is ready to redeem them in coin on presentation ; and when it is so ready to redeem them, what need or advantage will there be in raising the question ? And I have never heard any argument at all satisfactory to my mind that the repeal of the legal-tender clause would tend to make resumption any easier. On the contrary, it seems to me that it would render resumption far more difficult than it will otherwise prove ; that it would throw an undue share of the burden on the banks ; that it would force

them into the most rigid contraction, and needlessly cripple their power of discount, thus plunging the whole country into confusion, disturbing credits, embarrassing payments, fatally deranging business, and creating wide-spread distress among the people. It would be a peculiarly severe blow to the debtor class, and would make resumption to them the signal of bankruptcy and ruin. All wise legislation toward resumption will take care that no needless burden be thrown on those who have debts to pay, and that in the transition the banks shall be kept in such a condition as shall make them as helpful as possible to the general community. But this policy would drive the banks into a struggle for self-preservation in which debtors would necessarily be sacrificed. If I correctly apprehend the sound public judgment on this question, there is no desire to destroy the legal-tender character of the note, but a settled determination to bring it to a par with coin, and by this means to bring every bank-note to the same standard. This policy will restore the coin of the country, of which we are producing eighty millions per annum, to active circulation in the channels of trade, and will result not only in making our money better, but assuredly more plentiful among the people.

It is a humiliating fact that producing as we do a far larger amount of precious metals than all the rest of the world, we drive it into export because we will not create a demand for it at home. And the miners of the Pacific slope are furnishing the circulating me-

dium for every country of the civilized world except their own, whose financial policy to-day outlaws and expatriates the product of their labor. The act providing for resumption in 1879 requires, in the judgment of the Secretary of the Treasury, some additional legislation to make it practical and effective. As it stands, it fixes a date but gives no adequate process, and the paramount duty of Congress is to provide a process. And in all legislation looking to that end it must be borne in mind that, unless we move in harmony with the great business interests of the country, we shall assuredly fail. Specie payment can only be brought about by wise and well-considered legislation, based on the experience of other nations, embodying the matured wisdom of the country, healthfully promoting all legitimate business, and carefully avoiding everything that may tend to create fear and mistrust among the people. In other words, as the outgrowth of legislation is confidence, public and private, general and individual. To-day we are suffering from the timidity of capital, and so long as the era of doubt and uncertainty prevails, that timidity will continue and increase. Steps toward inflation will make it chronic; unwise steps toward resumption will not remove it.

We will have discharged our full duty in Congress, if we can mature a measure which will steadily advance our currency to the specie standard, and at the same time work in harmony with the reviving industries and great commercial wants of the country. In any event,

Mr. Chairman, whatever we may do, or whatever we may leave undone on this whole financial question, let us not delude ourselves with the belief that we can escape the specie standard. It rules us to-day, and has ruled us throughout the whole legal-tender period, just as absolutely as though we were paying and receiving coin daily. Our work, our fabrics, our commodities, are all measured by it, and so long as we cling to irredeemable paper we have all the burdens and disadvantages of the gold standard, with none of its aids, and gains, and profits. "The thing which hath been is the thing which shall be." The great law-giver of antiquity records in the very opening chapters of Genesis that "the gold of the land of Havilah is good." And with another precious metal it has maintained its rank to this day. No nation has ever succeeded in establishing any other standard of value; no nation has ever made this experiment except at great cost and sorrow; and the advocates of irredeemable money to-day are but asking us to travel the worn and weary road travelled so many times before—a road that has always ended in disaster, and sometimes in disgrace.

APPENDIX C.

HON. WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS ON THE CHARGES AGAINST MR. BLAINE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE EVENING POST :

On April 7th you made formal charges against James G. Blaine. They are the same which you made eight years ago, and which were, I think, at that time satisfactorily answered ; lest others, however, may like yourself have forgotten everything except the misstatements, you must permit me to remind you of the facts. I think I may claim some qualifications for the task. I have long had a close personal intimacy with Mr. Blaine, and during many years have had that knowledge and care of his moneyed interests which men absorbed in public affairs are not inapt to devolve upon friends who have had financial training and experience. I do not see how one man can know another better than I know Mr. Blaine, and he has to-day my full confidence and warm regard. I am myself somewhat known in the city of New York, and think I have some personal rank with you and your readers. Am I claiming too much in claiming that there is not one among you who would

regard me as capable of an attempt to mislead the public in any way? With this personal allusion—pardonable, if not demanded, under the circumstances—I proceed to consider your charges.

The first charge is really the one upon which all the others hinge. I give it in full and in your own language, only italicizing some of your words, in order that my answer may be clearer. You say :

In the spring session of Congress in 1869, a bill was brought before the House of Representatives which sought to renew a land grant to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad, of Arkansas, *in which some of Mr. Blaine's friends were interested*; that an attempt to defeat it by an amendment was made, and the promoters were in despair; that at this juncture Mr. Blaine, being then Speaker of the House, sent a message to General Logan, to make the point of order that the amendment was not germane to the purposes of the bill; that this point of order was accordingly raised and promptly sustained by Mr. Blaine as Speaker, and the bill was in this manner saved; that *Mr. Blaine wrote at once to the promoters, calling attention to the service he had rendered them, and finally, after some negotiations, secured from them, as their reward for it, his appointment as selling agent of the bonds of the road on commission in Maine, and received a number of such bonds as his percentage*; that the leading feature of this transaction appeared in two letters of his afterward made public, dated, respectively, June 29 and October 4, 1869.

Your error is in the facts. Mr. Blaine's friends were not connected with the Fort Smith & Little Rock Road at the time of the passage of this bill. Those to whom you refer as his friends are Caldwell and Fisher. The bill passed in April, 1869. In April, 1869, Mr. Blaine did not know that there was any such man as Caldwell ; and Fisher, who was Mr. Blaine's friend, did not know that there was any such enterprise as the Little Rock Railroad in the world. The evidence of these assertions was before Congress, was uncontradicted, and is within your reach. On the 29th of June, nearly eighty days after Congress had adjourned, Mr. Blaine, from his home in Maine, wrote to Fisher and spoke of Fisher's "offer to admit him to a share in the new railroad enterprise." Fisher had introduced the subject to Mr. Blaine for the first time a week before at the great music festival at Boston. He told him there that Mr. Caldwell, whom Mr. Blaine had not yet seen, had now obtained control of the enterprise and had invited Fisher to join him. At that time Fisher was a sugar refiner of considerable wealth in Boston, had been a partner of Mr. Blaine's brother-in-law, and through him had made Mr. Blaine's acquaintance. The offer Mr. Blaine refers to in his letter was Fisher's offer to induce Caldwell, if he could, to let Mr. Blaine have a share in the bed-rock of the enterprise. Mr. Fisher failed to do this, and Mr. Blaine never secured any interest in the building of the Fort Smith & Little Rock Railroad. What interest, then, did Mr. Blaine obtain ? An interest in the

securities of the company. How? By purchase, on the same terms as they were sold to all applicants on the Boston market; sold to Josiah Bardwell, to Elisha Atkins, and to other reputable merchants. He negotiated for a block of the securities, which were divided, as is usual in such enterprises, into three kinds, first mortgage bonds, second mortgage bonds, and stock. The price, I think, was three for one. That is, the purchaser got first mortgage bonds for his money, and an equal amount of second mortgage or land-grant bonds, and of stock thrown in as a basis of possible profit. I may be mistaken as to the price, but I think not. I went myself at this time into several adventures of the kind at that ratio, and have always understood that Senator Grimes and his friends got their interests in the Burlington & Missouri Road, a branch of the Union Pacific, on the basis of three for one. It was the common ratio at that era of speculation.

Mr. Blaine conceived the idea that he might retain the second mortgage bonds as profit, and sell the first mortgage bonds with the stock as a bonus. He believed the first mortgage bonds were good, and he disposed of them to his neighbors in that faith, and with the determination to shield them from loss in case of disaster. Disaster came. The enterprise, like so many others of the kind, proved a disappointment, and the bonds depreciated. Mr. Blaine redeemed them all. In one or two cases only had he given a guarantee. In none others was there any legal obligation, but he recognized

a moral claim, and he obeyed it to his own pecuniary loss. I cannot but feel that the purchasers of these bonds would have fared worse had they been compelled to look to many of those who have sought to give an odious interpretation to Mr. Blaine's honorable conduct. The arrangement for the purchase of the block of securities was made in June or July. The sales of the first mortgage bonds out of the block were continued through the months of July, August, and September, 1869. The transaction was nearly closed when, in the letter of October 4th, Mr. Blaine wrote to Mr. Fisher and told him the parliamentary story of the 9th of April. Mr. Blaine had come across it while looking over the *Congressional Globe*, with a natural curiosity to see what had been his decisions during the first six weeks of his Speakership, and he wrote of it to Fisher as an item in the legislative history of the enterprise into which they had both subsequently entered. It concerned a bill to renew a land grant, made long before the war, to the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad. The bill had passed the Senate without opposition, and there was no objecting to it in the House ; but the advocates of the Memphis, El Paso, & Pacific Railroad bill sought to attach their bill to it as an amendment. This El Paso bill was known at the time as General Fremont's scheme, and had been urged upon Congress before. It was unpopular, and was openly opposed by General Logan. Wedded to the Little Rock bill it would gain strength, but the Little Rock bill would lose

strength, and a just measure, universally approved, would be killed in the effort to pull through with it this objectionable measure which was universally disapproved. Mr. Blaine's message to Fisher will tell the rest of the story. He wrote : "In this dilemma Roots, the Arkansas member, came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules, for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told him that the amendment was entirely out of order, because not germain ; but he had not sufficient confidence in his knowledge of the rules to make the point. But he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme and would probably make it. I sent my page to General Logan, with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment and at once passed without objection." Mr. Blaine added these very significant words : "*At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it I did him a great favor. . . . I thought the point would interest both you and Mr. Caldwell, though occurring before either of you engaged in the enterprise.*"

This seems, Mr. Editor, to dispose of your first charge. The bill was a just one, and Mr. Blaine's friends had no interest in it when it passed the house. Eighty days after the House adjourned Mr. Blaine asked his friends, who had in the meantime taken hold of the enterprise, and had offered him some interest, to let him

in as a partner. They refused ; they did, however, sell him a block of securities on the same terms they sold them to others, and it proved an unfortunate purchase, for he sold them out among his friends believing them valuable, and took them all back when they depreciated in value. The letter of Mr. Blaine, written long after the transaction, is a complete vindication. To give it a semblance of evil you assign it a date six months before it was actually written. The late Judge Black, after an investigation of the whole subject, declared in his characteristic style "that Mr. Blaine's letter proved that the charge (which you repeat against him) was not only untrue but impossible, and would continue so to prove until the Gregorian calendar could be turned around and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the year."

Your second charge consists of two parts. The first part is that "Mr. Blaine wrongfully asserted that the Little Rock & Fort Smith road derives its life and value and franchise wholly from the State of Arkansas, whereas the evidence subsequently taken disclosed the fact that the road derives the value on which these bonds were based from the act of Congress of which Mr. Blaine secured the passage." It will be found that you have inaccurately quoted Mr. Blaine's language, or rather that you put language into his mouth that he never used. What Mr. Blaine did say was, "the Railroad Company derived its life, value, and franchises from the State of Arkansas." And Mr. Blaine stated the

exact truth. What are the facts? More than thirty years ago Congress granted to the States of Missouri and Arkansas a certain quantity of public lands to aid in the construction of certain lines of railway. The franchises which should be granted to the companies which should build the road were expressly left by Congress to the Legislatures of the States. Mr. Blaine spoke therefore with absolute precision of language, as he generally does, when he stated "that the Little Rock Railway Company derived its life, value, and franchises." Just as the Illinois Central Railroad Company derives its life, value, and franchises from the State of Illinois, though enriched by a land-grant from the United States, just as the Little Rock road was.

The second part of your second charge is that Mr. Blaine did not speak truthfully when he said that he "bought the bonds at precisely the same rates as others paid." There is no evidence anywhere to sustain this accusation. I have already said that any person could negotiate for them on the one-for-three basis, just as Mr. Blaine did, and many availed themselves of the opportunity. The price paid was not in the least affected by the fact that Mr. Blaine had already arranged to sell the securities at a higher price than he paid for them. He did this with the determination, honestly maintained, that he would make good any loss that might accrue to the purchasers. These sales did not change the price paid to Fisher, and the proof that they did not is the fact that Mr. Blaine paid it to him

in full. You speak in this connection of Mr. Bond being appointed an agent to sell the bonds of the company. No such appointment was ever made and no evidence suggests it. Mr. Blaine negotiated for his securities at a given price, which was paid in full to Mr. Fisher.

Your third formal charge relates to an alleged connection of Mr. Blaine with a share in the Northern Pacific enterprise. You charge this in the face of the fact that in Mr. Blaine's letter, in which you find the subject referred to, was his distinct asseveration that he "could not himself touch the share." Have you seen any evidence that he did? I have not. The Northern Pacific Railroad Company has been organized and reorganized, and recently reorganized a second time. Its records of ownership and interest have passed under the official inspection of at least a hundred men, many of whom are political enemies, and some of whom are to my knowledge personal enemies of Mr. Blaine, and there has never been a suggestion or hint from any of these that in any form whatever Mr. Blaine had the remotest interest in the Northern Pacific Company. If one of your associates has such evidence it is right that he should produce it.

Your fifth charge is that, after Mr. Blaine got possession of the so-called Mulligan letters, "he subsequently read such of them as he pleased to the House in aid of his vindication." The answer is that Mulligan's memorandum of the letters in which he had numbered and

indexed each one of them was produced, and number and index corresponded exactly with the letters read. This was fully demonstrated on the floor of the House and is a part of its records.

You repeat the charge that Mr. Blaine received a certain sum from the Union Pacific Railroad Company for seventy-five bonds of the Little Rock road. You say this without a particle of proof. You say it against the sworn denial of Thomas A. Scott, who was the party alleged to have made the negotiation. You say it against the written denial of Mr. Sidney Dillon, president of the company; against the written denial of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the company; against the written denial of Morton, Bliss & Co., through whose banking-house the transaction was said to have been made. Against this mountain of direct and positive testimony from every one who could by any possibility have personal knowledge of the alleged transaction, you oppose nothing but hearsay and suspicion as the ground of a serious charge against the character of a man long eminent in public life. The courtesy which admits me to your columns prevents my saying what I think of your recklessness in this matter.

Your fifth charge against Mr. Blaine's policy as an executive officer, and your last charge, is that of his packing conventions in his own favor. I do not desire to dwell upon either. This is not the place to review his foreign policy, to which you refer, and I am content to remark that, however much some Eastern journals may

criticise it, it is popular with a large majority of the American people. It is simply an American policy, looking to the extension of our commerce among the nations of this continent, and steadily refraining from European complications of every character.

The charge of packing conventions needs no answer. This is the third presidential campaign in which Mr. Blaine has been the choice of a large proportion of the Republican party. In each of them he has had the active opposition of the National Administration, with the use of its patronage against him. Whatever prominence he has enjoyed has been conferred by the people. He has no means not open to every citizen of influencing the public mind. No campaign in his favor originated elsewhere than among the people. He never sought office. He never held a position to which he was not nominated by the unanimous voice of his party. He has not sought the Presidency. Circumstances made him a candidate in 1876, almost before he was aware of it. In 1880 he did not wish to enter the canvass. I was one of a small party of intimate friends who, at a long conference in February, 1880, persuaded him that it was his duty. He has done nothing to make himself a candidate this year. He has asked no man's support. He has written no letters, held no conversation, taken no steps looking to his candidacy. He has never said to his most intimate friends that he expected or desired the nomination.

If, upon a review of the whole case, you should

charge that it would have been better and wiser for Mr. Blaine to have refrained from making any investment in a railroad that had directly or indirectly received aid from the legislation of Congress, I should be ready to agree with you, not because the thing was necessarily wrong in itself, but because it is easy for such matters to be so represented as to appear wrong. But why should Mr. Blaine be selected for special reprobation and criticism when so many other Senators and Representatives have been similarly situated. I know of my own knowledge that Governor Morgan, Mr. Samuel Hooper, Senator Grimes, and many of my friends while in Congress acquired and held interests in such enterprises, and neither you nor I, nor the people, suspected it to be wrong, or that it gave them any advantage over the investors. Why entertain and publish that suspicion against Mr. Blaine alone? When I sat as a Delegate at Large in the last National Convention, Senator Edmunds and Senator Windom were both candidates for the Presidency, and I should gladly have supported either. Senator Edmunds was understood to have a block of Burlington & Missouri securities, and Senator Windom had not only a block in the securities of the Northern Pacific Company, but was also one of its directors. Yet you find no fault with these gentlemen. Nor would you and I differ in giving the highest rank to Senator Grimes; but both he and Senator Edmunds acquired their interests in the Burlington & Missouri road, when they were in the Senate. They both sup-

ported the bill to restore the land grant to their road. It was passed on the same day with the Little Rock bill. Both measures were just, and both were passed in the House and Senate without a dissenting vote. Why must we suspect that Mr. Blaine had a secret and corrupt motive, and that other members and senators had none?

Let me add a circumstance which seems to me to be not only significant but conclusive of Mr. Blaine's conscious innocence in this Fort Smith transaction. He voluntarily made himself a party of record in a suit against the Fort Smith & Little Rock Railway Company in the United States Circuit Court, which involved the nature and sources of his ownership in the property. This was before he was named for the Presidency. If he had obtained this ownership dishonorably would he have courted this publicity?

I have thus ventured, Mr. Editor, to make answer to the charges you have brought against Mr. Blaine. There are other charges equally baseless which I have read, but in other papers, so that I may not claim your space to deny or answer them. I give two examples. Mr. Blaine is represented as the possessor of millions, while I personally know that he was never the possessor of the half of one million. He was represented as living for the past ten years in palatial grandeur in Washington. He sold that palatial mansion, with all its furniture, to Mr. Stevens, for \$24,500, and got all that it was worth. But you are responsible only for such

charges as you have made, and I have, therefore, made answer to them authoritatively over my own name, and I challenge denial of any substantial fact I have stated. Your attacks are not on Mr. Blaine alone—they are on his friends as well, and these are certainly a larger and more devoted body of supporters than can be claimed by any other man in public life. It seems to me, as I recall those in every station who are proud to be numbered among them, that I recognize many of the ablest, truest, and most honorable of our countrymen.

WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS.

WASHINGTON, April 23, 1884.

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